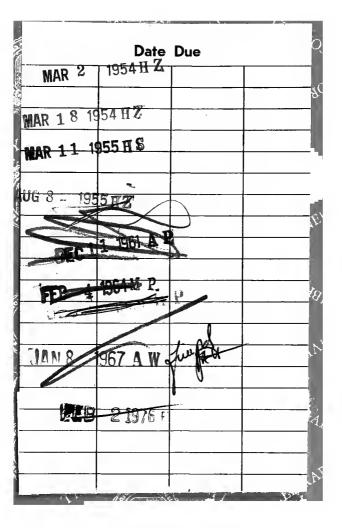


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COMPLETE WORKS

IN

VERSE AND PROSE

OF

SAMUEL DANIEL.

VOL. IV.

THE

COMPLETE WORKS

IN

VERSE AND PROSE

OF

SAMUEL DANIEL.

EDITED, WITH MEMORIAL-INTRODUCTION AND A GLOSSARIAL INDEX EMBRACING NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

BY THE

REV. ALEXANDER B. GROSART, D.D., LL.D. (EDIN.), F.S.A. (SCOT.).

IN FIVE VOLUMES.

VOL. IV.

MEMORIAL-INTRODUCTION II.-CRITICAL.

- I. PREFACE AND EPISTLES BEFORE PAULUS IOUIUS. 1585.
 II. A DEFENCE OF RYME. 1607.
- III. THE COLLECTION OF THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND. 1612—1618.
- EPISTLES-DEDICATORY: CERTAINE ADVERTISEMENTS TO THE READER.

 EARLY HISTORY.—WILLIAM I. TO HENRY II,

PRINTED FOR PRIVATE CIRCULATION ONLY.

1896.

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MEMORIAL-INTRODUCTION 11.— CRITICAL.

I KNOW not that I can beffer begin the fulfilment of my promise of a second part of my 'Memorial-Introduction' (I. Biographical; II. Critical),* than by putting in the forefront selected and representative estimates of our Worthy from contemporaries and on to the present day. Having done this, I shall return upon certain things in most of them; so that between these criticisms and our commentary, I have a hope of vindicating and restoring to him his original high place in our great Elizabethan-Jacobean literature.

I shall follow the chronological order as closely as may be, only giving the lead to—

1. EDMUND SPENSER (1594) in 'Colin' Clout's Come Home Againe':

"... there is a new shepheard late upsprong
The which doth all afore him far surpasse,
Appearing well in that well-tuned song
Which late he sung unto a scornfull lasse.
Yet doth his trembling Muse but lowly flie,
As daring not too rashly mount to hight,
And doth her tender plumes as yet but trie
In love's soft laies and looser thoughts delight.

Then rouze thy feathers quickly, Daniell, And to what course thou please thy selfe advance. But most me seemes thy accent will excell In tragick plaints and passionate mischance."

- 2. THOMAS NASHE (1592) in 'Piers Penilesse': *
- "... Some dull-headed divines deeme it no more cunnynge to write an exquisite poem than to preach pure Calvin, or distill the juice of a Commentary into a quarter poem ... you shall finde there goes more exquisite paynes and puritie of wit, to the writing of one such rare poem as Rosamond then to a hundred of your dunsticall sermons."
- 3. DR. GABRIEL HARVEY (1592) in 'Foure Letters and Certaine Sonnets': †

"I cordially recommend to the deere louers of the Muses; and namely, to the professed sonnes of the same: Edmund Spenser... Thomas Watson, Samuell Daniell... and the rest, whome I affectionately thanks for their studious endeuors, commendably employed, in enriching and polishing their natiue tongue, neuer so furnished or embellished as of late."

4. THOMAS CHURCHYARD (1593) in the 'Tragedie of Shore's Wife':

"Good Madame (Lady Mount-Eagle and Compton), because Rosimond is excellently set forth (the actor [= auctor or author] whereof I honour) I have somewhat beautified my 'Shore's Wife.'"

In 'A Praise of Poetrie' (1595):-

"In Spenser's morall fairie Queene,
And Daniel's rosie mound [= Rosamond],

* See complete Works in the *Huth Library* (6 vols.): vol. ii., pp. 59-60. † See the same in same (3 vols.): vol. i, pp. 218-19. Cf. also ii. 290.

If they be throwly waid and seen,
Much matter may be found;
One Barnes, that Petrarks Scholler is,
May march with them in ranke."

5. WILLIAM CLARKE (1595) in 'Polimanteia': *

"Let other countries (sweet Cambridge) envie (yet admire) my Virgil, thy Petrarch, divine *Spenser*. And unlesse I erre (a thing easie in such simplicitie) deluded by dearlie beloved *Delia*, and fortunatelie fortunate *Cleopatra*, Oxford thou maist extoll thy court-deare verse-happie *Daniell*, whose sweete refined Muse, in contracted shape, were sufficient amongst men, to gaine pardon of the sinne to *Rosamond*, and euerliving praise to her loving Delia."

Passing JOHN WEEVER and "ZEPHERIA" and CHARLES FITZGEOFFREY with simple notices below,† we come to—

- 6. SIR JOHN DAVIES (1596) in 'Orchestra': I
- "O that I could old Gefferies' Muse awake, Or borrow Colin's fayre heroike stile, Or smooth my rimes with Delia's servant's file" (st. 128).
- * See my reprint (with Introduction and Notes) in 'Unique and Rare Books.'
- † John Weever (1595) in 'Epigrams' (1599) is a mere echo of Spenser. In the anonymous "Zepheria" (1594) the author addressing the "modern Laureats" speaks of "the sweete-tun'd accents of your Delian sonnetrie"; but the epithet may only be general and refer to Delos as the birthplace of Diana and Apollo. See Collier's 'Bibl. Cat.,' ii. 554-5, and i., xlva. Charles Fitzgeoffrey in his poem on Sir Francis Drake (1596) and in his 'Affaniæ sive Epigrammata: lib. iii. Oxon' (1601) is so ntterly conventional as to be unworthy of preservation here. His 'Drake' is included in 'Unique and Rare Books,' as before.
- ‡ See either of my editions of Sir John Davies: (a) Complete Verse and Prose in Fuller Worthies' Library, 3 vols.; (b) Complete Poems in Chatto and Windus' 'Early English Poets,' 2 vols., 1876.

7. Francis Meres (1596-98) in 'Palladis Tamia':

"... As the Greeke tongue is made famous and eloquent by Homer . . . so the English tongue is mightily enriched and gorgeouslie invested in rare ornaments and resplendent abliments by Sir Philip Sidney, Spenser, Daniel . . . And as Horace saith of his 'Exegi monumentum' . . . so say I severally of Sir Philip Sidney's, Spenser's, DANIEL's . . . workes . . . As Pindarus . . . among the Greekes, and Horace and Catullus among the Latins, are the best Lyrick Poets: so in this faculty the best among our Poets are Spenser (who excelleth in all kinds), Daniel Drayton, Shakespeare, Breton . . . so these are the most passionate among us to bewaile and bemoane the perplexities of Loue, Henrie Howard Earle of Surrey . . . Sir Philip Sidney, Sir Walter Rawley, Sir Edward Dyer, Spenser, DANIELL, Drayton, Shakespeare. . . . As every one mourneth when hee heareth of the lamentable plangors of Thracian Orpheus for his dearest Euridice; so every one passionateth when he readeth the afflicted death of DANIEL'S distressed Rosamond."

Meres rather paraded his own scholarship and ingenuity of comparison than showed critical acumen. I allow him to represent others kindred—e.g. Allot, Bodenham, Puttenham, William Camden, Richard Carew, and 'Vindex Anglicus' (1644)—who all class Daniel with Spenser and Sidney.**

- 8. RICHARD BARNFIELD (1598) in Poems in Divers Humors': A Remembrance of some English Poets (after Spenser):—
 - "And DANIELL, praised for thy sweet-chaste Verse: Whose Fame is grav'd on Rosamund's blacke Herse:

^{*} I find in my note-book a number of untraced encomiums; eg;, "Rosamund's trumpeter, sweet as the nightingale." I should have liked to know the writer.

Still mayst thou live; and still be honoured For that rare Worke, 'The White Rose and the Red.'"*

9. JOHN MARSTON (1598) in 'Certaine Satyres.' Bp. Hall in his 'Satires' had attacked the 'Mirror for Magistrates,' and indirectly Daniel's poems on the same (as he held) bad model. Marston handles him severely for the former, and adds:—

"Must thou needs detract
And strive to worke his antient honor's wrack?
What, shall not Resamond, or Gaueston
Ope their sweet lips without detraction
But must our moderne Criticks envious eye..."

10. EDWARD GUILPIN (1598):-

"Daniel (as some holds) might mount if He List:= someone. But others say that he's a Lucanist": † 'Skialetheia. Or a

* See my collective edition of his complete Poems for the Roxburgh Club. † See our 'Unique and Rare Books,' as before; for Marston's collected

Poems with Memorial-Introduction; also Mr. A. H. Bullen's edition of his Works (2 vols.); and same series for Bp. Hall's complete Poems.

I I suspect Guilpin meant that whereas he himself was the 'some one' who believed (like Spenser) that Daniel could 'mount if he list' to any height of 'divine poesy' he chose, certain others arguing (foolishly) from the 'Civil Wars' (four books of which were then published) held that he should prove no more than Lucan in his "Pharsalia"-i.e. a verse-historian rather than poet. I have to thank two good literary friends who have thus written to me on the term. (a) Professor J. W. Hales, M.A. "There are two faults often found in Lucan: (1) that he is over-learned or at least too fond of airing his learning; and (2) that—this is Quintillian's criticism—the was more of an orator than a poet.' So a Lucanist may be "a pedant' or a "rhetorician." (b) Mr. Edmund Gosse. "I do not know, but I would hazard the conjecture that Daniel is called a 'Lucanist' as resembling Lucan, of whom it was said that he 'chose the quiet life,' a phrase which has been interpreted as meaning that he refused all political office. b should think it possible that in this sense the gentle and cloistered Daniel might be called a 'Lucanist.' This seems to me more plausible than to suppose that, like Lucan, having written verse on the history of his country, he was so named."

Shadowe of Truth in certaine Epigrams and Satyres.'* 1598: Satyre iv., p. 63.

II. MICHAEL DRAYTON (I) (1599) in 'Endimion and Phæbe' (after Spenser):—

"And thou, the sweet Musæus of these times, Pardon my rugged and vnfiled rymes, Whose scarce invention is too meane and base, When Delia's glorious Muse doth come in place."

(2) 'To Henry Reynolds of Poets and Poesy' (after Spenser, Marlowe, and Shakespeare):—

"Amongst these Samuel Daniel, whom if I
May speak of, but to censure do deny; (= iudge)
Only have heard some wise men him rehearse
To be too much historian in verse;
His rhimes were smooth, his meeter well did close,
But yet his manner better fitted prose."

"Many there be excelling in this kind,
Whose well-trick'd rimes with all inuention swel:
Let each commend as best shall be his minde,
Some Sidney, Constable, some Daniel.
That thus their names familiarly I sing,
Let none thinke them disparaged to be;
Poor men with reuerence may speake of a King,
And so may these be spoken of by mee . . . " †

* Mr. Quiller-Couch (as onward) is unfortunate in his quotation of above couplet—the usual peril of second- or third-hand knowledge. (a) It is somewhat belated not to know the author of 'Skialetheia' (see my reproduction in 'Unique and Rare Books,' as before, with Introduction, etc., 1878). (b) Inaccurate to describe the rare book as a 'collection' of epigrams by several authors. (c) The Epigrams (70 in all) occupy only pp. 3—28, the Satyres pp. 29—68; and it is in the latter (not in an Epigram) the Daniel lines occur.

† See the Spenser Society edition of Drayton and Mr. J. P. Collier's volume for the Roxburgh Club.

12. 'THE RETURNE FROM PARNASSUS' (1601-6)*:-

(a) "Gull: Pardon mee, moy mistressa, est am a gentleman, the moone in comparison of thy bright hue a meere slutt, Anthonie's Cleopatra a black-browde milkmaide, Hellen a dowdie.

Ingen: (Marke, Romeo and Juliet! O monstrous theft. I thinke he will runn throughe a whole booke of Samuell Daniell's!)" (Act iii., sc. 1, p. 57.)

(b) Ibid :---

"Sweete hony-dropping Daniell doth wage Warre with the proudest big Italian, That melts his heart in sugred sonneting: Onely let him more sparingly make use Of others wit, and use his owne the more: That well may scorne base imitation."

(Act i., sc. 2, p. 85.)

- 13. BEN JONSON (1619): (1) in 'Conversations with William Drummond of Hawthornden':—
- (a) "Said he had written a Discourse of Poesie, both against Campion and Daniel, especially this last, where he proves couplets to be the bravest sort of verse, especially when they are broken, like Hexameters; and that crosse rimes and stanzas (because the purpose would lead him beyond 8 lines to conclude) were all forced."
- (b) "Samuel Daniel was a good honest man; had no children; but no poet."
 - (c) "Daniel was at jealousies with him."
- (d) "Daniel wrott Civil Warres, and yet hath not one battle in all his book."
- * We are indebted to the Rev. W. D. Macray, M.A., for an admirable edition, not only of the 'Returne,' but also of its two related 'Journeys': Clarendon Press, 1866.

- (2) From 'Euery Man in his Humour' (1596-98).
- (e) "Clem.: What! all this verse? body o' me, he carries a whole realme [=ream, as realm was pronounced] a commonwealth of paper in his hose: let us see some of his subject.

 [Reads.]

'Unto the boundless ocean of thy face,

Runs this poor river, charged with streams of eyes.' How! this is stolen.

- "E. Know: A parody! a parody! with a kind of miraculous gift, to make it absurder than it was." (Act v., sc. 1.)
 - (f) From 'The Silent Woman' (1609):—
- "Truewit: Be a stateswoman, know all the news... or so she may censure poets, and authors, and styles, and compare them; Daniel with Spenser, Jonson with t'other youth, and so forth." (Act ii., sc. 1.)
 - (g) From 'The Staple of News' (1625):—
 "Wax (Rose): When he says nothing
 But twirls it thus.
 Statute: A moving oratory!

Statute: A moving oratory!

Band: Dumb rhetoric and silent eloquence!

As the fine poet says." (Act iii., sc. 1.)

(h) From 'The Forest' (1616-30)—to Elizabeth Countess of Rutland (Sidney's daughter):—

"You, and that other star, that purest light
Of all Lucina's train, Lucy the bright;
Than which a nobler heaven itself knows not;
Who, though she have a better verser got,
(Or Poet, in the Court-account), than I,
And who doth me, though I not him envy . . ." (xii.)

- 14. JOHN DAVIES OF HEREFORD (1611), in 'Scourge of Folly': *---
- * See complete ed. of John Davies in Chertsey Worthies' Library, 2 vols. 4to.

" To my worthily disposed friend Mr. Sam. Daniell.

"I hear thy Muse in Court doth travell now,
Art speed her feet, and grace there speed her plough.
If they come short, then gain by other drifts,
The more thou get'st, the more it's like thy gifts.
If yet too short, to add unto thy size,
Get one foot's length, then thy feet shall rise
With Pegasus, from Parnass to the skies."

I pass a foolishly encomiastic anonymous tribute of 1611—noting it below *—and equally leave unquoted Robert Hayman's 'Quodlibets' (1628), inasmuch as his epigram consists simply of a couplet on his own epigrams addressed "to Samuel Daniel most witty poet," much as Sir John Harington (a Somersetshire man), wishful to have his friend's name in his book, similarly addressed a couplet to "My friend, Mr. Sam. Daniell"—nothing personal. I also over-pass the (poor) epigrams of John Owen—naught quick in any of his tributes.

15. THOMAS FREEMAN (1614), 'Rubbe and a Great Cast: Epigrams.' Epigr. 69:—

" Ad Sam. Danielem ut Civile bellum perficiat.

"I see not (Daniel) why thou shouldst disdain
If I vouchsafe thy name amongst my mirth;
Thy Aetas prima + was a merry vaine,
Though later Muse tumultuous in her birth;

* Thomas Park gives above in Censura Literaria (i. 173) without stating its source. It is tacked to a notice of Davison's 'Poetical Rhapsody' (1611), but certes did not appear therein. He says: "The following encomiastic tribute to Daniel, who was termed by Headley 'the Atticus of his day,' may be welcome to some poetical readers, as an antiquarian 'novelty,'—utter trash."

† Actas prima canat venereas, postrema tumultus. Master Daniel's Mott prefixed to most of his Workes. [See vol. i. 20, 21: ii. 2, 3, etc.]

Know, here I praise thee as thou wast in youth:

Venereous, not mutinous as now;

Thy Infancie I loue, admire thy growth,

And wonder to what excellence 'twill grow,

When thou shalt end the broils thou hast begun,

Which none shall do, if thou shalt leaue vndone." *

- 16. WILLIAM DRUMMOND OF HAWTHORNDEN (1619?):
 - "For sweetness and rhyming second to none." †
- 17. WILLIAM BROWNE (1613-16) in 'Britannia's Pastorals' (B. ii., song 2):

"Well-languaged Daniel."

- 18. EDMUND BOLTON (before 1600), 'Hypercritica': ‡
- "The works of Samuel Daniel contained somewhat a flat but yet withal a very pure and copious English, and words as warrantable as any Man's, and fitter perhaps for Prose than measure."
 - 19. JOHN PENNY (1626), 'Anagramata Regia': 'Samuel Daniel.

"Diceris egregius duplici tu nomine Vates; Quam sanctus Samuel, quam sapiens Daniel. Romanum superare potes, me Judice, Vatem: Non tibi lasciva est Pagina, Vita proba est." §

- * The above epigram is from the second series, entitled 'Runne and a Great Cast: The Second Bowle.' There is a 17th-century MS. of Freeman in 'Sloane MS.,' 1889, f. 37b. This in line 2nd reads 'amidst' for 'amongst.'
- † See this Memorial-Introduction onward for notice of MSS. of Daniel formerly belonging to Drummond.
- ‡ Fairly well reprinted by Joseph Haslewood in his 'Ancient Critical Essays'—which include Campion and Daniel, 2 vols. 4to, 1811.
 - § Cf. Collier's 'Bibliogr. Cat.,' i. 21, 22.

[Translation by Canon Richard Wilton, M.A., of Londes-borough Rectory:

"A noble bard art thou in twofold guise:
As Samuel holy and as Daniel wise;
The Roman bard, methinks thou dost outshine;
Thy life is pure, no wanton page is thine."]*

20. Dr. THOMAS FULLER (1662), 'Worthies':--

"Samuel Daniel was born not far from Taunton in this county [of Somerset]: [his father John] whose faculty was a master of music; and his harmonious mind made an impression on his son's genius, who proved an exquisite poet. He carried in his Christian and surname two holy prophets, his monitors, so to qualify his raptures, that he abhorred all profaneness.

"He was also a judicious historian: witness his 'Lives of our English Kings since the Conquest until King Edward the Third'; wherein he hath the happiness to reconcile brevity with clearness, qualities of great distance in other authors; a work since commendably continued (but not with equal judgment) by Mr. Trussell.

"He was a servant in ordinary to Queen Anne, who allowed him a fair salary. As the tortoise burieth himself all the winter in the ground, so Mr. Daniell would lie hid at his garden-house in Old Street, nigh London, for some months together (the more retiredly to enjoy the company of the Muses); and then would appear in public, to converse with his friends, whereof Dr. Cowel and Mr. Camden were principal. Some tax him to smack of the old cask, as resenting of the Romish religion, but they have a quicker palate than I, who can make any such

^{*} The text has 'Regina'—an evident misprint for 'Pagina,' the pentameter requiring the second syllable of the word to be short, Pagina not Regina. Probably Horace rather than Virgil was intended: or query Ovid? My 'brother beloved' was good enough to similarly translate Owen, Fitzgeoffrey, and others; but, as stated elsewhere, the originals are sapless and valueless.

discovery.* In his old age he turned husbandman, and rented a farm in Wiltshire nigh the Devises. I can give no account how he thrived thereupon; for though he was well versed in Virgil, his fellow husbandman poet, yet there is more required to make a rich farmer, than only to say his Georgics by heart; and I question whether his Italian will fit our English husbandry. Besides, I suspect that Mr. Daniel's fancy was too fine and sublimated, to be wrought down to his private profit. However, he had neither a bank of wealth or lack of want, being in competent condition. By Justina his wife he had no child. . . ."

21. GERARD LANGBAINE (1691), 'Dramatick Poets.' In quoting the following couplet from 'Choice Drollery' (1656)—

"The pithy Daniel, whose salt lines afford
A weighty sentence in each little word" ('Time Poets')—

Langbaine says: "I have never seen any copies made on the old poets, but Mr. Daniel is therein mention'd with honor" (p. 105). Again: "One whose memory will ever be fresh in the minds of those who favour history or poetry. . . . But however his genius was qualified for Poetry, I take his History of England to be the crown of all his Works." †

Once more leaving unquoted as of no critical value

^{*} See Glossarial-Index under 'Roman Catholic' for exposure of this absurdity.

[†] For those who care to consult it, I give the reference to Hallam's account of the 'History'—viz., vol. iii., pp. 149, 150. I simply note that he is wholly wrong in stating that Daniel had recourse 'only to common authorities.' His margins show that he had the whole available literature of his History at his command, and he promised an Appendix of original MS. documents by aid of Sir Robert Cotton, Camden, etc. Alas! that his death robbed us of this.

whatever Henry Headley (1787), 'Select Beauties of Ancient English Poets'—Sir Egerton Brydges (1815) in 'Censura Literaria,' 'Restituta,' etc.—Dr. Nathan Drake (1817) in 'Shakespeare and his Times' (with all its limitations a not despicable book)—as I shall in like manner not load my pages with anything from the almost always wooden and second-hand Henry Hallam, and Professor G. L. Craik—only a little less superficial and jejune than Hallam—we have now reached men of higher calibre and insight.

22. WILLIAM WORDSWORTH (1814):

""... the wise
Have still the keeping of their proper peace;
Are guardians of their own tranquillity;
They act, or they recede, observe, and feel;
"Knowing the heart of man is set to be
The centre of this world, about the which
Those revolutions of disturbances
Still roll; where all the aspects of misery
Predominate; whose strong effects are such
As he must bear, being powerless to redress;
And that unless above himself he can
Erect himself, how poor a thing is man!"

('The Excursion,' Book IV., ll. 320-31.)

"The passage quoted from Daniel is taken from a poem addressed to the Lady Margaret, Countess of Cumberland, and the two last lines, printed in italics, are by him translated from Seneca. The whole poem is very beautiful. I will transcribe four stanzas from it, as they contain an admirable picture of the state of a wise man's mind in a time of public commotion." [Vol. i., pp. 204-5, ll. 36—67.] WORDSWORTH.

[See Glossarial-Index under Wordsworth for a note.]

- 23. ROBERT SOUTHEY, (1831), in (1) 'Select Works of the British Poets from Chaucer to Jonson': "Daniel frequently wrote below his subject and his strength, but always in a strain of tender feeling, and in language as easy and natural as it is pure. For his diction alone he would deserve to be studied by all students or lovers of poetry, even if his works did not abound with passages of singular beauty. Thoughtful, grateful [sic: query graceful? or pleasing?], right-minded and gentle-hearted, there is no poet in our language of whom it may be affirmed with more certainty, from his writings, that he was an amiable and wise and good man."

 (2) From 'The Doctor' (ed. 1848, p. 121): "One of the sweetest and tenderest of English poets." And again: "The tenderest of all tender poets."
 - 24. SAMUEL TAYLOR COLERIDGE (b. 1772, d. 1834).
 - (1) 'Table Talk' (ed. 1851).
- "Read Daniel—the admirable Daniel—in his 'Civil Wars' and 'Triumph of Hymen.' The style and language are just such as any very pure and manly writer of the present day—Wordsworth, for example—would use; it seems quite modern in comparison with the style of Shakespeare" (p. 311).
- (2) 'Biographia Literaria' on Prose v. Verse (ed 1847, ii. 82-4).
- "... The sense shall be good and weighty, the language correct and dignified, the subject interesting and treated with feeling; and yet the style shall, notwithstanding all these merits, be justly blamable as prosaic, and solely because the words and the order of the words would find their appropriate place in prose, but are not suitable to metrical composition. The 'Civil Warres' of Daniel is an instructive, and even interesting

work: but take the following stanzas, (and from the hundred instances which abound I might probably have selected others far more striking: [Book I., st. vii.-ix.] Will it be contended, on the one side, that these lines are mean and senseless? Or, on the other, that they are not prosaic, and for that reason unpoetic? This poet's well-merited epithet is that of the 'welllanguaged Daniel'; but likewise, and by the consent of his contemporaries no less than of all succeeding critics, the 'prosaic Daniel.' Yet those who thus designate this wise and amiable writer, from the frequent incorrespondency of his diction to his metre in the majority of his compositions, not only deem them valuable and interesting on other accounts, but willingly admit that there are to be found throughout his poems, and especially in his Epistles and in his 'Hymen's Triumph,' many and exquisite specimens of that style which, as the neutral ground of prose and verse, is common to both. A fine and almost faultless extract, eminent as for other beauties so for its perfection in this species of diction, may be seen in Lamb's Dramatic Specimens [noted by us elsewhere in this Introduction . . .]"

(3) Two letters to Lamb (Hazlitt's 'Johnson's Lives Completed' (i. 177-8: 1854) written on the fly-leaf of Lamb's copy of Daniel's 'Works':—

"DEAR CHARLES,—I think more highly [of Daniel], far more than you seemed to do (on Monday night, Feb. 9, 1808). The verse does not teaze me; and all the while I am reading it, I cannot but fancy a plain England-loving English country gentleman, with only some dozen books in his whole library, and at a time when a Mercury or Intelligencer was seen by him once in a month or two, making this his newspaper and political Bible at the same time, and reading it so often as to store his memory with its aphorisms. Conceive a good man of that kind, diffident and passive, yet rather inclined to Jacobitism,

eeing the reasons of the revolutionary party, yet, by dispoition and old principles, leaning, in quiet nods and sighs, at
its own parlour fire, to the hereditary right (and of these
haracters there must have been many), and then read this
oem, assuming in your heart his character,—conceive how
roud he would look, and what pleasure there would be, what
monscious, harmless, humble self-conceit, self-compliment in
its gravity; how wise he would feel himself, yet, after all, how
orbearing; how much calmed by that most calming reflection
when it is really the mind's own reflection),—Ay, it was just
o in King Henry the Sixth's time. Always the same passions
t work."

And again-

Second Letter (five hours after the first).

"DEAR CHARLES,-You must read over these Civil Wars gain. We both know what a mood is; and the genial mood rill—it shall—come for my sober-minded Daniel. He was a utor and a sort of steward in a noble family, in which form ras religiously observed, and religion formally; and yet there ras much warm blood and mighty muscle of substance in hem that the moulding-irons did not disturb, though they tiffened the vital man in them. Daniel caught and recomnunicated the spirit of the great Countess of Pembroke, the lory of the North; he formed her mind, and her mind nspirited him. Gravely sober on all ordinary affairs, and tot easily excited by any, yet there is one on which his blood poils—whenever he speaks of English valour exerted against foreign enemy. Do read over,—but some evening when I m quite comfortable at your fireside,—and, oh, when shall ever be if I am not so there!—that is the last altar at the iorns of which my old feelings hang; but, alas, listen and remble-nonsense !- well, I will read to you and Mary the 105, 206, and 207 pages—above all that 93 stanza! What is here in description superior even in Shakespeare? only that Shakespeare would have given one of his glows to the first line, and flattered the mountain top with his sovran eye, instead of this poor 'a marvellous advantage of his yeares.' But this, however, is Daniel, and he must not be read piecemeal; —even by leaving off and looking at a stanza by itself, I find the loss.

"S. T. COLERIDGE."

Then a P.S. to notice of 93rd stanza (ut supra):

"And in a different style, the 98th stanza, page 208. What an image in 107, page 211! Thousands even of educated men would become more sensible, fitter to be members of parliament, or ministers, by reading Daniel; and even those few who, quoad intellectum, only gain refreshment of notions already their own, must become better Englishmen. Oh, if it be not too late, write a kind note about him.

"S. T. COLERIDGE."

[The edition of Daniel quoted from has not been recorded by either Coleridge's or Lamb's editors; but most probably the stanzas indicated all belong to Book VI. of the 'Civil Wars': specifically stanzas 93, 98 and 107.] I glean the following additions from Hartley Coleridge's 'Marginalia,'—for a Coleridge's dust is dust of gold.

Poem of the Lady Margaret—"A noble poem in all respects."—S. T. C. Then Hartley Coleridge on the Devonshire 'Funeral Poem':—

"If strong sense and high morality, expressed in pure, weighty and considerate language, be enough to constitute poetry, this memorial is a noble poem, notwithstanding the dead march of the verse, which might have been composed to the knell of muffled bells, the slow rumble of a heavy hearse, and the monotony of a funeral sermon. It is a perfect

ontrast to Ford's essay on the same occasion, which is the lullest string of conceits, the finest specimen of 'the furious ame,' that ever issued from the pen of an undoubted genius. Daniel's allusion to his patron's connection with Lady Rich is nanly and delicate. Ford thinks to bully over the matter." i., pp. 12, 13.)

25. JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL in Essay on Spenser. After Drayton.

"Daniel was in all respects a man of finer mould. He did ndeed refine our tongue, and deserved the praise his conemporaries concur in giving him of being 'well-languaged.'* Writing two hundred and fifty years ago, he stands in no need of a glossary, and I have noted scarce a dozen words, and not nore turns of phrase, in his works, that have become obsolete. This certainly indicates both remarkable taste and equally emarkable judgment. There is a conscious dignity in his hought and sentiment such as we rarely meet. His best poems always remind me of a table-land, where, because all s so level, we are apt to forget on how lofty a plane we are tanding. I think his 'Musophilus' the best poem of its tind in the language. The reflections are natural, the expresion condensed, the thought weighty, and the language worthy of it. But he also wasted himself on an historical poem, in vhich the characters were incapable of that remoteness from ordinary associations which is essential to the ideal. Not that ve can escape into the ideal by merely emigrating into the past or the unfamiliar. As in the German legend, the little black Kobald of prose that haunts us in the present will seat himself

^{*} Edmund Bolton in his Hypercritica says: "The works of Sam. Daniel ontained somewhat a flat, yet withal a very pure and copious English, and vords as warrantable as any man's, and fitter perhaps for prose than hyming." (See Haslewood's Ancient Crit. Essays, vol. ii.) I have talicised his second thought, which chimes curiously with the feeling Daniel eaves in the mind. Wordsworth, an excellent judge, much admired Daniel's poem to the Countess of Cumberland.

on the first load of furniture when we undertake our flitting, if the magician be not there to exorcise him. No man can jump off his own shadow, nor, for that matter, off his own age, and it is very likely that Daniel had only the thinking and languaging parts of a poet's outfit, without the higher creative gift which alone could endow his conceptions with enduring life and with an interest which transcends the parish limits of his generation. In the prologue to his 'Masque at Court' he has unconsciously defined his own poetry:—

"" Wherein no wild, no rude, no antic sport, But tender passions, motions soft and graue, The still spectator must expect to haue."

And indeed his verse does not snatch you away from ordinary associations and hurry you along with it, as is the wont of the higher kinds of poetry, but leaves you, as it were, upon the bank watching the peaceful current and lulled by its somewhat monotonous murmur. His best-known poem, blunderingly misprinted in all the collections, is that addressed to the Countess of Cumberland. It is an amplification of Horace's Integer Vitae, and when we compare it with the original we miss the point, the compactness, and above all the urbane tone of the original. It is very fine English, but it is the English of diplomacy somehow, and is never downright this or that, but always has the heart to be so or so, with sentiments of the highest consideration. Yet the praise of well-languaged, since it implies that good writing then as now demanded choice and forethought, is not without interest for those who would classify the elements of a style that will wear and hold its colours well. His diction, if wanting in the more hardy evidences of muscle, has a suppleness and spring that give proof of training and endurance. His 'Defence of Rhyme,' written in prose (a more difficult test than verse) has a passionate eloquence that reminds one of Burke, and is more hight-armed and modern than the prose of Milton, fifty years later." ('Works,' vol. iv., pp. 280-82.)

26. PROFESSOR WILLIAM MINTO (1885) in 'Charcteristics of English Poets from Chaucer to Shirley':—

"Had Daniel lived in the present day, his destiny probably rould have been to write scholarly and elegant articles in the nagazines, ripe fruits of learned study, cultivated taste, and asy command of polite English. His was not one of the tormy irregular natures that laid the foundation and raised he structure of the English drama: the elements of his eing were softly blended, and wrought together mildly and armoniously. In the prologue to 'Hymen's Triumph' he eclares that he has no rude sport to offer—

" 'But tender passions, motions soft and grave, The still spectators must expect to have.'

Ie wrote for Cynthia, and therefore his play-

"' Must be gentle, like to her
Whose sweet affections mildly move and stir.'

Ie might have said the same about all his poetry. He was 10 master of strong passions: he never felt them, and he ould not paint them. Between his Cleopatra and Shakepeare's there is a wide gulf. But he is most exquisite and lelicate in pencilling 'tender passions, motions soft and grave.' Vithout being strikingly original, Daniel has a way and a vein He fills his mind with ideas and forms from f his own. xtraneous sources, and with quietly operating plasticity reshapes hem in accordance with the bent of his own modes of thought nd feeling. He had not the Shakespearean lightning quickess in adaptation and extension; the process in him was nore peaceable and easy. The diction of his poems is choice; he versification easy and flowing. He often puts things with elicitous terseness and vigour, and his words almost invariably ome together happily and harmoniously." Then of the onnets: 'They have all Daniel's smoothness and felicity of hrase, and are pervaded by exceedingly sweet and soft sentinent. Though they rouse no strong feelings, they may be

dwelt upon by a sympathetic reader with lively enjoyment." Further: "Daniel's genius is best shown in the expression of bereaved love in the 'Complaint of Rosamond' and in 'Hymen's Triumph'—as Spenser said, 'in tragic plaints and passionate mischance.' In the expression of courtship love, his imagination is cold and acts artificially and mechanically; but when the beloved object is taken away, he is moved to the depths, and pours forth his strains with genuine warmth. The passion has still a certain softness in it; his lovers have not the inconsolable fierce distraction of Shakespeare's forsaken lover, 'tearing of papers, breaking rings atwain': they do not shriek undistinguished woe; but they sigh deeply, and their voices are richly laden with impassioned remembrance. The plaintive sorrow of Thyrsis is sweet and profound. But nothing that Daniel has written flows with surer instinct and more natural impulse than the agonised endearments of Henry over the body of Rosamond. Wholly different in character from the frantic doting of Venus over her lost Adon, these verses are hardly less perfect as the utterance of a milder and less fiercely fond passion. The deep heart's sorrow of the bereaved lover makes itself felt in every line" (pp. 191-5).*

27. PROFESSOR GEORGE SAINTSBURY, in his 'Elizabethan Literature':—

"The poetical value of Daniel may almost be summed up in two words—sweetness and dignity. He is decidedly wanting in strength, and despite *Delia*, can hardly be said to have had a spark of passion. Even in his own day it was doubted whether he had not overweighted himself with his choice of historical subjects, though the epithet of 'well-languaged,' given to him at the time, evinces a real comprehension of one of his best claims to attention. No writer of the period has such a command of pure English, unadulterated by xenomania and unweakened by purism, as Daniel. Whatever unfavourable things have been said of him from time to time

ave been chiefly based on the fact that his chaste and correct tyle lacks the fiery quaintness, the irregular and audacious ttraction of his contemporaries. Nor was he less a master of ersification than of vocabulary. His Defence of Rhyme shows hat he possessed the theory: all his poetical works show that e was a master of the practice. He rarely attempted and robably would not have excelled in the lighter lyrical neasures. But in the grave music of the various elaborate tanzas in which the Elizabethan poets delighted, and of which he Spenserian, though the crown and flower, is only the most perfect, he was a great proficient, and his couplets and blank rerse are not inferior. Some of his single lines have already seen quoted, and many more might be excerpted from his work of the best Elizabethan brand in the quieter kind. Quiet. ndeed, is the over-mastering characteristic of Daniel. It was his, no doubt, which made him prefer the stately style of his Senecan tragedies, and the hardly more disturbed structure of pastoral comedies and tragi-comedies, like the Queen's Arcadia and Hymen's Triumph, to the boisterous revels of the stage proper in his time. He had something of the schoolmaster in his nature as well as in his history. Nothing is more agreeable to him than to moralise, not indeed in any dull or crabbed manner, but in a mellifluous and at the same time weighty fashion, of which very few other poets have the secret. It is perhaps by his scrupulous propriety, by his anxious decency to use the word not in its modern and restricted sense, but in its proper meaning of the generally becoming), that Daniel prought upon himself the rather hard saying that he had a manner 'better suiting prose.' The sentence will scarcely be echoed by any one who has his best things before him, however much a reader of some of the duller parts of the historical poems proper may feel inclined to echo it. . . . The passage rom Hymen's Triumph, 'Ah, I remember well, and how can I,' shows the sweetness without namby-pambyness which Daniel had at constant command. Something of the same contrast may be found between the whole of Hymen's Triumph and the Queen's Arcadia on the one side, and Cleopatra and Philotas on the other. All are written in mixed blank and rhymed verse, and interlaced and 'enjambed.' The best of the historical poems is by common consent Rosamond, which is instinct with a most remarkable pathos; nor are fine passages by any means to seek in the greater length and less poetical subject of The Civil Wars of York and Lancaster. The fault of this is that the too conscientious historian is constantly versifying what must be called mere expletive matter. must always make any one who speaks with critical impartiality admit that much of Daniel is hard reading; but the soft places (to use the adjective in no ill sense) are frequent enough, and when the reader comes to them he must have little appreciation of poetry if he does not rejoice in the foliage and the streams of the poetical oasis which has rewarded him after his pilgrimage across a rather arid wilderness" (pp. 135-9).

28. A. T. QUILLER-COUCH (1894) from 'Adventures in Criticism' (1896):—

"The writings of Samuel Daniel and the circumstances of his life are of course well enough known to all serious students of English poetry. And, though I cannot speak on this point with any certainty, I imagine that our younger singers hold to the tradition of all their fathers, and that Daniel still renidet in angulo of their affections, as one who in his day did very much, though quietly, to train the growth of English verse; and proved himself, in everything he wrote, an artist to the bottom of his conscience. As certainly as Spenser, he was a 'poets' poet' while he lived. A couple of pages might be filled almost off-hand with the genuine compliments of his contemporaries, and he will probably remain a 'poets' poet' as long as poets write in English. But the average reader of culture—the person who is honestly moved by good poetry, and goes from time to time to his bookshelves for an antidote

o the common cares and trivialities of this life—seems to reglect him almost utterly."

Then follows this lamentation, bewraying unacquaintance with our edition of his complete Verse Vols. I. to III., 1885):—

"I judge from the wretched insufficiency of his editions. t is very hard to obtain anything beyond the two small volumes published in 1718 (an imperfect collection), and a volume of Selections' edited by Mr. John Morris and published by a 3ath bookseller in 1855; and even these are only to be picked ip here and there." Further: "I find it significant, too, that n Mr. Palgrave's Golden Treasury, Daniel is represented by one sonnet only, and that by no means his best. This neglect vill appear the more singular to any one who has observed 10w apt is the person whom I have called the 'average reader of culture, to be drawn to the perusal of an author's works by some attractive idiosyncrasy in the author's private life or character. Lamb is a staring instance of this attraction. How we all love Lamb, to be sure! Though he rejected it and called out upon it, 'gentle' remains Lamb's constant epithet. And, curiously enough, in the gentleness and dignified melancholy of his life, Daniel stands nearer to Lamb than any other English writer, with the possible exception of Scott. circumstances were less gloomily picturesque. But I defy any eeling man to read the scanty narrative of Daniel's life and hink of him thereafter without sympathy and respect."

Finally—passing over facts of the life and notes thereon already anticipated:—

"I said just now that Daniel had done much, though quietly, to train the growth of English verse. He not only stood up successfully for its natural development at a time when the clever but less largely informed Campion and others hreatened it with fantastic changes. He probably did as much

as Waller to introduce polish of line into our poetry. Turn to the famous 'Ulysses and the Siren,' and read [Vol. I., pp. 270-72]. Can any one tell me of English verses that run more smoothly off the tongue, or with a more temperate grace? To speak familiarly, this is as easy as an old shoe. To speak yet more familiarly, it looks as if any fool could turn off lines like these. Let the fool try. And yet to how many anthologies do we not turn in vain for 'Ulysses and the Siren'; or for the exquisite Spring song, beginning—

'Now each creature joys the other,
Passing happy days and hours;
One bird reports unto another,
In the fall of silver showers. . . .' (I., 259-60);

or for that lofty thing, the 'Epistle to the Countess of Cumberland.' . . . Certainly, if ever a critic shall arise to deny poetry the virtue we so commonly claim for her, of fortifying men's souls against calamity, this noble Epistle will be all but the last post from which he will extrude her defenders" (pp. 50—60).

And now—as announced in beginning these selected and representative estimates—in returning upon certain things in most of them, it must be permitted me to accentuate that a literary critic writes himself down—ass (and plain speech is demanded) who in the teeth of such a Century of Praise (and beyond) rests satisfied with merely dipping here and there, and thereupon pronouncing as fatuously as Lord Jeffrey, "This will never do."

Take EDMUND SPENSER'S greeting. It is not to read into it more than was meant, but to rightly read what was meant, to find in this opening tribute a call upon him to let himself go, on the ground that he was capable of high success in "whatever course he

pleased to advance himself." No doubt this was overpraise; for Daniel had rigid limitations. less it avouches the "poet of poets'" lofty conception of the possibilities and potentialities of his friend's genius. More than that. Let the reader go back on the closing couplet, and mark how unerringly and presciently Spenser puts his finger on what was undoubtedly the central quality of Daniel-viz., pathos and tenderness. "tragicke plaints and passionate mischance." greatest 'Curiosity of Literature' is that this should have been misread into a summons to the Poet to write 'play-tragedies.' Even so level-headed a critic as Mr. A. H. Bullen, in his life of Daniel in the 'Dictionary of National Biography' (s.n.), has continued the prevalent misinterpretation. He says, "Spenser then addressing the poet by name, advises him to attempt tragedy." Not at all. The mere printing of "Tragick" with a capital letter—capitals abounding in Spenser as in all Elizabethans—gave no warrant for transmogrifying "tragic plaints" into "Tragedy Plays." * Whereas, read as I am reading, Spenser practically tells the Poet to go on and work the vein revealed in the 'Complaint of Rosamond.' Clearly 'Rosamond' rather than the "soft laies and looser thoughts" of 'Delia' went to Spenser's heart, and made him recognise in

[•] It is an ungracious duty to note that in the same Memoir Mr. Bullen misspells as Hayward, Hayman; mistakes Richard Carew for Thomas Carew—the latter having no mention of Daniel; mis-assigns to Bastard an epigram on him that is non-existent, and otherwise has been badly served by his note-book. Need I say that these small matters do not at all affect my very high estimate of the fine enthusiasm, the rare vigilance, the sufficient scholarship, and as a whole the accuracy of his reprints, albeit (e.g. in Marlowe) blotted by too many misprints?

the "new shepherd" one who had command of the "fount of tears,"

It is the more honourable to Spenser that he should thus and thus early have welcomed Daniel, in that in one of the 'Delia' sonnets there was a hardly mistakable gird at his "aged accents" and allegorising:—

"Let others sing of Knights and Palladines,
In aged accents and untimely words;
Paint shadowes in imaginary lines,
Which well the reach of their high wits records."

(IV. i. 73.)

Perchance the laudatory "high wits" softened the implied censure; and doubtless—as with Sidney's dispraise of the antique words of the 'Shepherd's Calendar'—just as doubtless Guilpin's "grandam words" (p. 63) were but motes in the sunshine of his praise—and he credited Daniel with love for the "pure well of English undefiled," or direct and simple English-born speech. It must likewise be remembered that later Daniel turned aside (so to say) to pay fine tribute to Spenser (See vol. iii., pp. 26-7).*

THOMAS NASHE'S praise of the "exquisite paynes" required for the production of so "rare a poem as Rosamond" lies like a rose above its thorns in his fierce denunciations of the "dunstical sectaries." It is exceptionally valuable.

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^{*} I suppose it may be assumed that Spenser saw Nashe's 1592 surreptitious ed. of 27 of the 'Delia' sonnets appended to 'Astrophel and Stella.' But no doubt the Author's own edition of 1594 complete, and with the 'Complaint of Rosamond' added, also reached him. 'Colin Clout's Come Home Again' is dated 1591 at end of the Epistle, but while an early draft may have been among his papers, 1594 was its real year-date of issue.

DR. GABRIEL HARVEY'S 'praise' could have been done without. That literary ghoul stinks in the nostrils of all honest men. Yet it is noticeable that long before WILLIAM BROWNE he recognised the fine English of our Poet.

THOMAS CHURCHYARD and WILLIAM CLARKE bear witness to the honour in which Daniel was held by the best judges.

SIR JOHN DAVIES'S golden praise of our Poet, precious in itself, is still more precious as enabling us to correct a too long and indolently accepted misapplication of two of his Epigrams to Daniel. Unfortunately Dyce—name never to be mentioned without honour and gratitude, spite of his limitations and lack of imagination—in his MARLOWE thus annotates No. 45:—

"I am sorry to believe that by Dacus (who is spoken of with great contempt in Epigram 30) our author means Samuel Daniel; but the following lines in that very pleasing writer's Complaint of Rosamond (which was first printed in 1592) certainly would seem to be alluded to here:

"Ah, beauty syren, faire enchanting good,
Sweet, silent rhetorique of persuading eyes,
Dumb eloquence, whose power doth move the blood,
More than the words or wisdom of the wise," etc. (1611, p. 39).

What a pity this laborious editor did not look an inch or two beyond his own nose and study Epigram 30! Here it is:—

"In Dacum 30.

"Amongst the poets Dacus numbred is,
Yet could he never make an English rime;
But some prose speeches I have heard of his,
Which have been spoken many an hundreth time:

The man that keeps the Elephant hath one, Wherein he tells the wonders of the beast; Another Banks pronouncèd long agon When he his curtailes' qualities exprest. He first taught him that keeps the monuments At Westminster, his farewell tale to say; And who him which Puppets represents, And who him which with the ape doth play: Though all his Poetry be like to this, Amongst the Poets Dacus numbred is."

Be it noted that, independent of the absurdity of supposing that Sir John Davies could possibly affirm of Daniel, "he never could make an English rhyme," the "prose speeches" assigned to the same Dacus do not in any single instance belong to Daniel.

Nor is even this all. Let us read Epigr. 45.

"In Dacum 45.

"Dacus with some good colour and pretence,
Tearmes his love's beauty 'silent eloquence';
For she doth lay more colour on her face
Than ever Tully us'd his speech to grace."

(Dacus, Davies' works, as before, ii. 42.)

"Silent eloquence" is not identical with "dumbe eloquence," and Daniel was not addressing his Mistress ("love's beauty"), but Rosamond the King (Henry).

Therefore there is not jot or tittle to prove that by Dacus Samuel Daniel was intended. The truth is that the phrase of "dumbe eloquence"—a beautiful and pathetic fancy, reminding us of the murdered queen lying in her stillness, and (if I may illustrate) of the wayside Irish beggar who simply exposed his sores and rags and left them to appeal for him—passed

into common speech (from Daniel probably) and grew to be one of the aped phrases of the gallants and poetasters of the time. Finally, by rare good fortune, John Davies of Hereford, who was Daniel's friend—in his 'Scourge of Folly'—paints for us the real 'Dacus,' and more cannot be necessary to wipe off for ever this stain on alike Daniel's good name and Sir John Davies's.

" Against Dacus the pott-Poet: Epigr. 2.

"Dacus keepes company and they keepe him;
And yet he scornes to bee so kept by any:
But each where he in Helicon doth swim,
And for that floud he cannot pay a penny:
For when the reckning's giu'n, and he would say
Here's mine; that floud doth carry mine away:
So when the shott's requir'd, he (out of season)
Reads currant rimes, but giues none other reason."

How grotesquely inapplicable is all this to Samuel Daniel! Evidently some red-nosed tavern rhymester (like Elderton) was hit at by both the Davieses.* It is deplorable that Mr. A. H. Bullen follows in Dyce's footsteps without question,

RICHARD BARNFIELD—a true singer—seems to place the 'Complaint of Rosamond' and the 'Civil Wars' on an equality. Even acerb JOHN MARSTON does not suffer Bishop Hall to escape for his "envious eye" on Rosamond. EDWARD GUILPIN'S I value next to Spenser's invitation.

MICHAEL DRAYTON has perhaps been pressed too far-—like Edmund Bolton earlier, whose idle talk possibly

^{*} The late Dr. Brinsley Nicholson first set me on the right scent. Se Glossarial-Index under 'Dacus' for a note.

Drayton caught up. I am disposed to think that by "his manner better fitted prose" he simply meant that much of the 'Civil Wars' had 'better' have been written in, e.g., the dulcet prose of the 'History.' But somehow Drayton, as one gets nearer glimpses of him, does not come out well. He has written imperishable things, but seems to have been of an atrabilious and suspicious nature, not without spice of malignant taking up of 'evil reports.' I must give one deplorable evidence from his Address to the Reader in the second part of 'Polyolbion,' where he thus addresses those who had not welcomed the first part very enthusiastically,-" I wish their folly may be hereditary from them to their posteritie, that their children may be [reduced to] beg for foode to the fifth generation, until it may be beyond the memory of man to know that there was any other of their families."

The 'Returne from Parnassus' probably Daniel never saw or heard of. But the charge of "making use of others' wit" is a wholly unsupported one. Perhaps he was (wisely) counselled to give up his model of the Senecan tragedies, e.g. Philotas and Cleopatra. Be this as it may, our Poet is definite and unmistakable in his claim, that what he wrote was all his own, as he self-respectingly declares—

"What I have done, it is mine owne, I may Do whatsoeuer therewithall I will." *

^{*} Cf. i. 12: and pp. 13-15. Dates clash, so that the 'Queen's Arcadia,' which was not presented to Her Majesty and her Ladies of the University of Oxford (Christ Church) until August 1605, could hardly have been pointed at (unless a later interpolation) in the 'Returne.' But Langbaine thus writes of it: "Whether the scene between Carinus and Amintas, the lovers of Cloris, be borrowed from any ancient poet, I know not; but sure

Arrived now at BEN JONSON, I reckon Gifford's elaborate and passionate vindications of him, in so far as Shakespeare is concerned, as uncalled for in the light of glory of the splendid homage prefixed to the folio of 1623. But abundant evidence remains that the traditional bricklayer had a loose and reckless tongue, and spared none who really or imaginarily crossed his path or refused to yield to his autocracy. An authentic anecdote—verifying all this and more—of the Cavalier poet Thomas Carew and Jonson, is preserved in a letter from James Howell to Sir Thomas Hauk, April 5th, 1636. I reproduce it here:—

"I was invited yesternight to a solemn supper by B[en] f[onson], where you were deeply remembered: there was good Company, excellent Cheere, choice Wines, and jovial welcome. One thing intervened, which almost spoiled the relish of the rest, that B[en Jonson] began to engross all the Discourse, to vapour extremely of himself, and by vilifying others to magnify his

I am that in Monsieur Quinault's La Comedie sans Comedie there is a scene betwixt Filence and Daphnis in a manner the same (Act ii., sc. 4), as the two next scenes between the shepherds and their mistress Clomire exactly resemble the scene (Act ii., sc. 7) betwixt the swains Damon and Alexis, and the inconstant nymph Lauranda, in Randolph's 'Amyntas'" (s.n). Mr. Bullen says of the 'Returne' that it is "a sneer that seems ill justified"; but I would scarcely call it a 'sneer,' accompanied as it is with such high praise of Daniel's native capacity. We could spare the whole of the 'Queen's Arcadia'-a mere Inigo Jones spectacle-without sensible loss. And it does not touch the Poet's claim, "what I have done is mine own." I do not like the duty, but it is again needful to state that Mr. Quiller-Couch's neat little theory of the 'imitativeness' of all great poets is pure assumption in the case of Daniel. One asks, Whom did he imitate i What did he imitate? Reminiscences of the Senecan tragedies, albeit these are shadowy, is one thing, and this imaginary imitativeness another and different thing. The 'Returne of Parnassus' has no reference whatever to the latter. Yet by itself the warbled poetic prose in the places is excellent (pp. 56 and 246-56), but to be read cum grano salis.

own Muse. T. Ca[rew] buzzed me in the ear, that though Ben had barrelled up a great deal of knowledge, yet it seems he had not read the Etheques, which among other Precepts of Morality, forbid Self-Condemnation," *—with more, severer.

William Drummond of Hawthornden, in his 'Notes of Conversations,' tells us much the same thing—not spitefully or falsely, but in integrity. So finished a gentleman self-evidently was not 'taken' by his rough guest, notwithstanding his genius:—

"January $16\frac{19}{20}$: He [Ben Jonson] is a great lover and praiser of himself; a contemner and scorner of others; given rather to lose a friend than a jest; jealous of every word and action of those about him (especially after drink, which is one of the elements in which he liveth). . " \dagger

These two independent witnesses may well be left to discount Ben's repudiation of 'jealousy.' Not only so, but there can be no question (I think) that Daniel's place at Court as "licenser" of Masques and other entertainments stood in Jonson's way as he elbowed to the front.‡ Conceded that Jonson's "Masques" were an immeasurable advance on all others—only Hymen's Triumph holds its own—it is just possible that Daniel showed a sense of soreness against his pushing

^{*} Jacobs' edition of the famous 'Letters,' 2 vols. (1892), pp. 403-4.

[†] Cunningham's Gifford's Jonson in loco.

[†] On 31st January, 1603-4, Kirkham and others were licensed to form a company of "children of the revels to the Queen," with this proviso that "all plays" must be first "allowed by Sam. Danyell"; and again on 10th July, 1615, George Buck, Master of the Revels, wrote that "the king has been pleased at the mediation of the queen on behalf of Sam. Danyell, to appoint a company of youths to perform comedies and tragedies at Bristol under the name of the Youths of Her Majesty's Royal Chamber of Bristol"—Daniel then residing in the neighbourhood of Bristol. In 1618 the same post was conferred on John Daniel, the Poet's brother.

antagonist thereby. But it was ineffably mean on "rare Ben's" part to traduce our 'gentle poet' to his patron-friend the Countess of Rutland. Faults on both sides must perhaps be our verdict; but the greater with Jonson. Specifically he cannot really have read the "Civil Wars." For (as our quotation shows) he thus preposterously spoke of the poem: "Daniell wrott Civill Warres, and yet hath not one battle in all his book." The simple fact is that 'battles' abound, and in none of all the eight books do we need long to read to come on them. On this onward.

Nor was it less unrighteous in Jonson to parody and spoil the fine opening of 'Delia' (Sonnet 1)—

"Unto the boundlesse Ocean of thy beautie Runnes this poor riuer, charged with streames of zeale," into

"Unto the boundless ocean of thy face with streams of eyes."

'Face' for 'beauty' and 'eyes' for 'zeal' was damnable.*

WILLIAM BROWNE'S "well-languaged Daniel" I do not for one moment question was meant for noble praise. But unluckily it has been taken up as a kind of cuckoo note, and an exaggerated value placed on his mere wording. Even Professor Saintsbury pronounces it to have been an unusually penetrative discernment.

EDMUND BOLTON, I believe with Drayton, simply intended, by "fitter perhaps for Prose than measure,"

^{*} I half suspect that Daniel had Jonson in his thought when he wrote—

"So had I not beene tax'd for wishing well,
Nor now mistaken by the censuring stage."

(Epistle, vol. iii., p. 102, ll. 104-5).

the too great literal historicity of much of the 'Civil Wars.' Otherwise his prior words, "a very pure and copious English," sound very like nonsense.

DR. THOMAS FULLER and JOHN PENNY come well together as mutually playing on the Poet's two names, 'Samuel' and 'Daniel.'

Wordsworth's working into 'The Excursion' the noticeable lines from the 'Epistle to the Countess of Cumberland' and related note, I regard as one of the most precious recognitions of Daniel. The great Poet of our century was chary in taking anything from others, even the highest. Hence this placing of elect lines from Daniel in his 'Excursion' is the more memorable.*

Leaving SOUTHEY to be re-read quietly by those who do not fall in with the depreciation of that good man, and in some respects man of genius, I hope every Reader will surrender himself to the kindling enthusiasm of the great COLERIDGE, and make it a point to turn up the references he makes. Far and away Coleridge is in my judgment the most sane, the most seeing, the most luminous of literary critics.

I am tempted to dwell on Lowell, Minto, Saintsbury, and Quiller-Couch, but each is so appreciative and whole-hearted that one may safely leave minor mistakes to be corrected (where not already done) by the student of Daniel. I content myself with a very few words on each.

- a. JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL. As our Glossarial-Index abundantly evidences, it was too strong to put
- * With reference to Wordsworth's note, he is certainly mistaken in saying that Daniel found the italicised couplet in Seneca. There is nothing whatever in any manner of way resembling it in all the Senecan Plays. See more on this onward.

it, "Writing two hundred and fifty years ago, he stan in no need of a glossary, and I have noted scarce dozen words, and not more turns of phrase, in I works that have become obsolete." Then, no o who knows will agree that in the 'Epistle to t Countess of Cumberland' he took for model Horac Integer Vitæ. They differ toto cælo; and DERWEI COLERIDGE admirably meets such type of over-ingenic scholarship by his remark on Hartley Coleridge's contribetween the Milton and his brother Sir Christopher. "Where there is no competition there ought not to comparison" ("Marginalia," as before).*

I think too that the general application (misapplication) of his quotation from the 'Masque at Court' was be recognised as uncritical. I for one like to find a of humour in his phrasing of—

"The still spectator must expect to have."

Was ever the decorum—the stiff propriety of a Cou audience better hit off? But the fault of faults omission in Lowell's criticism is a revelation of he very superficial and second-hand was this somewhomniscient critic's knowledge of his Author. I refer the fact that he actually has not a syllable on perhet the greatest elegiac lament in our tongue—for Stell Devonshire. But much must be forgiven to the m who so unstintedly proclaimed the "imperishable stu of 'Rosamond,' 'Musophilus,' and the 'Defence

^{*} Daniel himself in the 1603 folio title-page expressly announces that "Certaine Epistles" are "after the manner of Horace" and not *Im Vita* (Odes, b. i. 22), but Epistle (b. i., x) may possibly have been in mind, albeit in the most shadowy way. Sir Theodore Martin in his Ho gives close parallels from Milton, Cowper, and Robert Burns, with *Im Vita*, but Daniel yields none.

Rhyme.' With reference to the last, let the Reader who doubts slowly study the 'Defence,' and he will agree with every word of the eulogy. Nor would I forget to accentuate the basis of fact on which the splendid metaphor of the 'table-land' rests. Daniel does ascend and 'mount' and lift.

b. PROFESSOR MINTO. Like Lowell, this critic generalises from a chance quotation from a Masque. He shows slender knowledge of the emotion-the passion—the genuine feeling that informed the blood and warmed the imagination of Daniel. It is to me simply astounding how any man could read 'Delia' without recognising the lava-tide of emotion that beat in his now 'disdained' and now 'favoured' heart; while the 'Complaint of Rosamond' in its sweet pathos, and his 'Epistles' and incidents in the 'Civil Wars' reduce to grotesqueness such a dictum as this: "He was no master of strong passions; he never felt them, and he could not paint them." Comparison of Daniel's 'Cleopatra' with Shakespeare's is singularly inept; and how earless to miss the music of his lyrics 'Ulysses and the Siren' (Vol. I., pp. 270-72), and the delicious Spring Song or Ode, "Now each creature joys the other" (Vol. I., pp. 259-60)!

Neither our love for the winsome memory of Minto or gratitude for his actual literary achievements, or the inestimable value of his "other words" on Daniel, must blind us to his imperfect acquaintance with Daniel's Poetry. He passes over 'Musophilus' and the Devonshire Lament. No man who could do that—even a Lowell or a Minto—had real first-hand knowledge or insight or an ear.

c. Professor Saintsbury. I cannot but rejoice that my edition of the Verse of Daniel won from Professor Saintsbury such painstaking study, and drew from him in "picked and packed words" (if somewhat floreated) a verdict that is substantively sound and charmingly sympathetic. I owe him likewise an admirable examination of the Senecan Plays of Daniel*—only I must add that therein he strangely forgot the 'Mirror for Magistrates,' Samuel Brandon, and Fulke Greville, Lord Brooke, the "Anthony" of the Countess of Pembroke—largely original as well as translated. These all belong to the same category.

There are four points in my good friend's criticism that I must notice:—

- 1. How could he overlook—like Lowell and Minto—the Devonshire Lament?
- 2. He recurringly speaks of Daniel's "lack of strength." This seems to me exceptionally uncritical. There is strength and strength. There is the tumid and turgid 'strength' say of Festus, and there is the disciplined and subtle 'strength' say of Samson Agonistes. Let the places indicated by Coleridge and
- * Vol. III., pp. vii-xi. I hope it is not ungracious to say that it seems to me very doubtful, after reading critically the whole of the Plays ascribed to Seneca, that Seneca really was his model in either Cleopatra or Philotas. Certes, no single thought or image is traceable to any one of them, albeit, oddly enough, in Thomas Newton's "Tenne Tragedies translated into Englysh" (1581), by Jasper Heywood, Studley, Nuce, young Nevyle, and Newton—one haps on occasional lines that must have been read by Daniel—e.g., a Chorus in Hercules Furens recals the Epistle to the Countess of Cumberland. It must also be remembered that Daniel himself expressly states in his Apology that Philotas was fashioned after the "ancient forme of a Tragedy," a phrasing that makes one think not of the debased and degenerate plays of Seneca, but of the Greek masterpieces.! (Vol. III., p. 179.) See Glossarial-Index under 'Seneca' for a note.

by myself onward, be turned to and thought out, and it will soon be found that one special quality of Samuel Daniel is the inevitableness with which he rises when any 'strong' appeal is made to either his imagination or his patriotism. The simple 'strength' with which he works out a great metaphor is something wonderful, as Coleridge saw. Not only so, but intellectual strength characterises all through the thought, the emotion, the utterance of the Epistles, e.g., to the Countess of Cumberland—Earl of Southampton—and the immortal Devonshire Lament. There is the pliant strength of a shirt of mail in all these and many others.

- 3. Like Professor Minto, he actually says "he can hardly be said to have had a spark of passion." My answer to the one professor must stand for answer to the other. On fit occasion Daniel throbbed and burned with 'passion.'
- 4. His observation "he rarely attempted, and probably would not have excelled in the lighter lyrical measures." Let the priceless 'Ulysses and the Sirens,' and the 'Spring Ode' already named, bear witness to the contrary.
- d. QUILLER-COUCH—the immortal 'Q.' It was a great joy to me to come on this causerie. In former footnotes and in Glossarial-Index I have felt conscience-bound to put right certain unexpected blunderings. But the criticism is to me—and I feel sure will be to all lovers of Daniel—of priceless worth for its tenderness and happy, however discursive, phrasing. I could hardly have wished a better closing of my 'testimonies.'

Having thus placed before my readers, actually and by references, a 'Century of Praise'—applying

Dr. Ingleby's title of his famous Shakespeare collection—of earlier on to later critics, and made such corrective and explanatory comments as seemed called for, I claim now for Samuel Daniel a high and sure place in our great Elizabethan-Jacobean literature on these SEVEN grounds:—

- I. For his 'Delia' sonnets, as being exquisitely wrought, and as having historically led Shakespeare to his Sonnet-form. I find more than art in 'Delia'-I find a genuine record of the lights and shadows of a real passion.* But for their art alone these sonnets were epoch-making. That they 'sing' only of love, never passing into the grandeurs of the Sonnet as it became in the hands of Milton and of Wordsworth, is not to be made a fault. It shows lack of a historical sense to think otherwise. As well complain that gas was not burnt in the days of candles. It was not till long after 'Delia' that the Sonnet burst its narrow bounds and 'intermeddled' with every possible experience. Love, and only love, was its theme, save in merely laudatory and dedicatory Sonnetse.g., Spenser, with the Fairy Queen, and Daniel's own commendatory Sonnets.
- 2. For his 'Complaint of Rosamond.' This must ever abide unsurpassed for its pathos and delicacy and daintiness of workmanship.
- 3. For his already frequently designated Lament for the Earl of Devonshire and most of the 'Epistles.'
- 4. For 'brave translunary things' in every book of the 'Civil Wars.'
 - 5. For 'Hymen's Triumph,' as melodious and

^{*} See Glossarial-Index under 'Love' for proofs.

gracious and equal to anything contemporary of the kind.*

- 6. For his 'Defence of Rhyme.' Had he done no more than smashed Campion and Harvey's preposterous hexameter themes and vagaries, our national literature had been his debtor. Very fine too is his gracious and graceful early recognition of Campion's genius (apart from his verse-heresies).
- 7. For his choice English all through—Verse and Prose. There can be no question that he largely shaped and coloured our English tongue in its making. No writer of the period, or of any period, was so fastidious and painstaking in his composition and revision. Even his shorter poems invariably prove to have been retouched in different editions.†

Surely these Seven things do not go beyond Daniel's rightful claims. Surely our national literature had been poorer without any one of them. And surely, this being so, his memory is to be held in grateful affection, and his Works deserving of closer and sympathetic study?

At this point I am not unwilling to make an admission. I will concede that you need to have love and enthusiasm in your heart to carry you through the Works of Daniel. I have explained (I think) correctly all that was meant by Edmund Bolton and Michael Drayton. I recognise that the 'Civil Wars' as a whole

^{*} See Appendix to this 'Memorial-Introduction' for MS, various readings.

[†] It is stated in loco (i. 294) that there is an autograph MS. of the verse-address to Bp. Montague, in H.M. Public Record Office, London, but collation yields (except different spelling occasionally) only these two various readings: 1. 7, 'can' for 'may,' and 1. 63, 'with' for 'which.'

was more fit for Prose than measure. But with every concession along this line I protest against the merely incidental 'prosaic' in Daniel being taken as typical of his genius. So far from this being the case, the 'prosaic' in even the 'Civil Wars' is the merest tithe over-against the singing and ringing verse. Nay, more -just as in Wordsworth, who greatly admired Daniel, and, as we have seen, has worked in lines from himby the very 'prosaic' nature of much of his blank verse and other poems, the more strikingly appears his inspiration when he is his true self, and girt about with his "singing robes"; so, in a sense, 'prosaic' may be allowed of a small proportion of Daniel's verseinfinitely less than in Wordsworth-but that leaves untouched the true poet's soul, his God-given dower of genius and song. He is a Maker. He is a Singer.

I hope this collection of the Works of Daniel will fall into the possession only of those who are willing to take pains to master a true Poet. Accordingly I place here pencil-markings in my own copy of the several volumes. I shall be disappointed if in any single instance the references given be not found rewarding, and a verification of all I have claimed for Daniel

Vol. I.: pp. 35, 37, 40 (= v.), 42 (= viii.), 44 (= xii.), 46 (= xv.), 48 (= xvii.), 49 (= xx.), 52 (= xxiii.), 62 (= xxxviii.), 63 (= xxxix.), 64 (= xli.), 72 (= liiii., copied many times), 75 (= lviii.), 76 (= lix.), 87, 88, 90, 96, 97, 104, 110, 111, 130, 162, 169 to 188, 198 to 202, 203 to 207, 209 to 212, 213 to 216, 217 to 219, 221 to 256.

Vol. II.: pp. 17, 22, 25, 28, 32, 37, 39, 44, 46, 47, 49, 53, 57, 59, 71, 73, 79, 80, 83, 85, 87, 90, 91, 97, 98, 101, 104, 109, 122, 124, 125, 134, 137, 149, 156, 177, 186, 191, 198, 199, 219, 223, 237, 249, 253, 266, 267, 268, 270, 271, 273, 284, 308, 318, 319, 322, 328. Some of the battles (with reference to Ben Jonson), 152, 156, 242, 248.

Vol. III.: pp. 26, 46, 47, 58, 59, 61, 62, 65, 67, 77, 78, 84, 86, 87, 90, 110, 112, 113, 119, 123, 134, 138, 143, 148, 151, 174, 202, 204, 232, 293, 298, 333, 338, 344, 352, 355, 373, 376, 385, 397.

Even these relatively full references are merely selective, or what have arrested myself in reading and re-reading. Doubtless others will be struck with different places. But if these be followed up and held in a firm grasp, no further plea will be needed to gain for Samuel Daniel love and homage as a born Poet.

In turning now to the Prose, my own verdict would be a mixed one. 'Well-languaged' still holds of his vocabulary, and as a whole the narrative is well-wrought, often terse and memorable, while throughout there is a sense for literature very distinctive of Daniel's slightest work. But oftener than one would wish, the sentence-making is formless and merely cumulative clauses. I refer here to his 'History' alone; for his 'Defence of Ryme' is a piece of splendid English.

The merit of the 'History' is that he took pains and went to all available sources—not limiting himself, as Hallam with characteristic blundering says, "to the common authorities," but searching out primary MSS.,

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and drawing on the rich resources of Sir Robert Cotton and William Camden and other of his scholar-friends.* So that we have all along conscientious search and research for the truths of fact and facts of truth. His own claim is an extremely modest one, as follows:-" For the Worke itselfe, I can challenge nothing therein but onely the sewing it together, and the observation of those necessary circumstances and inferences which the History naturally ministers." † There is infinitely more than 'sewing together.' There is wide observation, penetrative pondering, sagacious insight of springs of action, acute and shrewd detection of motives and impulses, and a rare soundness of judgment amid conflicting opinions. I must also emphasise that the additional words, "the observation of these necessary circumstances and inferences which the History naturally ministers," hardly prepares us for his statesmanly verdicts on men and things; his sagacious political teaching by events and characters; his innumerable axiomatic summaries; his wise aphorisms and sound common sense; his half-sarcastic, half-pitiful reflections on the doings of kings and nobles, with hard hits; nor for his thousand-and-one anecdotes, scattered from commencement to close, that yielded so many tit-bits, e.g., to the quaint and learned Puritan commentator, John Trapp, M.A., who is never weary of citing 'Mr. Daniel's History.'

Shakespeare himself was not more proud of "this England" than Samuel Daniel. ±

^{*} See Glossarial-Index under Cotton; and iv. 75-6, etc., etc.

[†] Vol. IV., p. 83.

[‡] See Vol. II., pp. 9, 10, 48, 54, 132, 195, 203, 222.

One characteristic of Daniel must be accentuated—that when the tidal wave of a great national event, or personality, or action that appealed to patriotism rolls in, he rises with it, is never submerged by it. Again and again I have found myself stirred in my blood (as with Michael Drayton's 'Agincourt') as I came on eloquent defences of the liberties of the people, and denunciations of however high-placed wrong-doers. As a Scot I honour Daniel supremely for his conception and estimate of Sir William Wallace and Robert Bruce and other national heroes, where everything tended to becloud the Historian's vision and prejudice him.*

Now, having given my margin-jottings on the Verse, I place here the like on the Prose. I do not think any Reader is likely to regret giving the time required to turn to these references.

Vol. IV.: pp. 29 to 67, 79, 80, 81 to 83, 86, 87, 88, 89, 91, 92, 93, 95, 96, 97, 99, 101, 106, 108, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 122, 129, 132, 137, 140, 156, 160, 166, 167, 168, 176, 177, 181, 183, 194, 203, 212, 215, 223, 258, 259, 260, 263, 264, 266, 267, 268, 270, 271, 273.

Vol. V.: pp. 1, 7, 9, 10, 11, 14, 25, 28, 29, 31, 33, 35, 36, 37, 43, 44, 46, 67, 72, 75, 76, 79, 90, 95, 98, 100, 104, 105, 108, 112, 117, 118, 119, 120, 122, 124, 134, 139, 140, 142, 144, 148, 152, 153, 155, 157, 158, 161, 162, 163, 164, 166, 168, 170, 172, 174, 176.

^{*} See Glossarial-Index under 'Wallace' and 'Bruce,' and also under 'Wales.'

It will round off what I have thus far said and submitted, similarly to give references to Daniel's quiet but assured sense of his permanent after-fame wherever our English speech went. Some of the places will reward reflection on them: Vol. I., pp. 3, 4 to 7, 9, 10, 11, 12 to 15, 35.*

I hope I have fulfilled my engagement of a 'Critical' second part to this 'Memorial-Introduction' sufficiently to be of some little help to those willing and wishful to be helped. I am not conscious of Macaulav's Boswellism. But I am free to confess that the more I have turned to and returned on these now completed Works, I have been the more drawn to Samuel Daniel. I venture also to assume that I have rendered some service to our national literature by being the first thus to collect and worthily present his Works, as it has been my privilege to have done with many others—e.g., Fulke Greville, Lord Brooke (4 vols.), Richard Crashaw (2 vols.), George Herbert and Christopher Harvey (4 vols.), Andrew Marvell (4 vols.), Sir Philip Sidney (2 vols.), Phineas Fletcher (4 vols.), Sir John Davies (3 vols.), Henry Vaughan (4 vols.), Robert Greene

^{*} The following from 'Delia' are to be specially noted for the unmistakableness wherewith he assures his lady-love that she would owe her immortality to his Muse. One would have thought that so odd, not to say ungallant, a reminder none other would care to repeat. But those familiar with Elizabethan-Jacobean poetic literature know that it is not at all exceptional. Even Spenser so far forgot himself as to employ the like. But the queerest appropriation of the idea was by Thomas Carew: 48, 65, 66, 74, 75. I add pp. 112, 113, 187, 226, and vol. iii., pp. 24, 25, 26, 27. Cf. Carew (Ebsworth's ed., 1893), "In grateful beauty threatened" (p. 15); "A pastoral Dialogue" (p. 41). The following places beyond all question bewray reading of 'Delia,' pp. 3, 4, 5, 7, 21—not at all to Carew's dishonour.

(15 vols.), Thomas Nashe (6 vols.), Thomas Dekker (5 vols.), Dr. Gabriel Harvey (3 vols.), Nicholas Breton (2 vols.), Francis Quarles (3 vols.), John Davies of Hereford (2 vols.), Dr. Joseph Beaumont (2 vols.), Henry More (1 vol.), Abraham Cowley (2 vols.), Joshua Sylvester (2 vols.), and the long series of 'Unique and Rare Books,' etc., etc.

Anything else promised in 'Memorial-Introduction' (I. Biographical, II. Critical) or called for, will be found in the Glossarial-Index. I expressed a hope of adding somewhat to the facts of the Biography.* But only one letter additional has turned up—at Hatfield. By the kindness of the Marquis of Salisbury I print here this letter, which it will be seen is almost parallel with that already given (I. xxii-iii) addressed to the Earl of Devonshire, and wherein he speaks of having "fully satisfied my L. of Cranborne."

"To LORD VISCOUNT CRANBOURNE, 1605.

"Right honorable my good L.

"My necessitie I confess hath driven me to doo a thing unworthy of mee, and much against my harte, in making the stage the speaker of my lynes; when never heretofore had any other theater then the universall dominions of England who so long as it shall keepe the tongue it hath, will keepe my name & travayles from perishing. And for this tragedie of Philotas, wherein I sought to reduce the stage from idlenes to those grave presentments of antiquitie used by the wisest nations, I protest I have taken no other forme in personating the Actors that performd it then the very Idea of those tymes as they appeared unto mee both by the cast of the storie and the universall notions of the affayres of men; we in all ages

^{*} Vol. I., x.

beare the same resemblances, and are measured by one and the same foote of understanding. No tyme but brought forth the like concurrencies, the like interstriving for place and dignitie, the like supplantations, rysings & overthrowes, so that there is nothing new under the sonne, nothing in theas tymes that is not in bookes, nor in bookes that is not in theas tymes. And therefore, good my Lord, let no misapplying wronge my innocent writing, weh in respect of myne owne reputation, undertaking such a subject, I must not make frivolous, or unlike my stile, understanding the world & the probable course of those tymes. But vf it shall seeme skandalous to any by misconceiveing it, and your ho: be so pleased, I will finde the meanes to let it fall of it self, by withdrawing the booke & mee to my poore home, pretending some other occasion, so that the suppressing it by authoritie might not make the world to ymagin other matters in it then there is. Onely I would beseach my L: of Northampton & your ho: (seeing the tyme will yeald me no grace nor comfort & that my studies, my faculties are unnecessarie compliments of the season) to bestow some small viaticum to carry me from the world, where I may bury my self, & my writings out of the way of envie, & live in some other kind, more agreeing to my harte & the nature of my studies, and where yf you will doo me good I will labour to doo you all the honour & service I may, and be most faythfully

"Your honours in all humilitie.

"SAMUEL DANYEL."

Addressed: "To the right honorable my worthy good L: "the Lord Vicont Cramborne" [sic].

Endorsed: "Mr. Samuel Daniel to my Lord, 1605."

[Hatfield] Cecil Papers, 191/123.

The Hist. MSS. Commission (pp. 163, 202), by Mr. Horwood, reports that at Longleat there is a letter

from Daniel to "Mr. Kirton, the Earl of Hertford's steward, dated 1608." But the Marquis of Bath and G. F. Warner, Esq. (head of the MSS. Department of the British Museum, who has all the Hertford Papers at present in his custody), informs me that no such letter exists at Longleat, and that Mr. Horwood must somehow have misread his note-book, mistaking a letter of a George Denham.

Somerset still owes the debt of a statue to her eminent son Samuel Daniel—cordially acknowledged to me by the late Mr. Kinglake the Historian (a Somersetshire man); and her Antiquaries might surely do something more to elucidate his life. "My withers are unwrung." I have done my level best.

ALEXANDER B. GROSART.

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APPENDIX.

Drummond MS. of "Hymen's Triumph" (III., pp. 325-98).

Among the Drummond of Hawthornden books is an Author's MS. of 'Hymen's Triumph.' I am deeply indebted to the learned librarian of Edinburgh University (H. A. Webster, Esq., M.A.) for the following little additions in Daniel's autograph, and which have never before been printed.

"To the right noble Ladie, the Ladie of Roxborough.

"That this small piece was (noble Ladie) borne
To be among those rites weh did adorne
Y' worthy nuptialls, I rejoyce; as one
Who ever long'd to have his wishes showne
In anything that might y' hono' sound,
For that great goodness I haue euer found;
And, Madame, this much I would haue you know
That I must evermore confess to owe
All gratitude unto your nobleness;
Who always haue been readie to express
Y' love to vertue & so doo me grace
Wh all sincere proceeding, in your place.
Wh that the world from me may understand
Here, madame, I subscribe it wh my hand.

'SAMUEL DANVEL.'"

The Song of the first Chorus (vol. iii., pp. 349-50) is likewise in Daniel's own hand, but has only two small various readings: in 1. 456 'that' for 'a,' and 1. 457 'Nor' for 'Not.'

These lines do not appear in the printed copy:-

"From the temple to the borde,
From the borde unto the bed;
We conduct y' maydenhead:
Wishing Hymen to afford
All the pleasures y' he can,
'Twixt a woman & a man.
So merily we pass along
Wth the ioyfull bridall song.'

For a full account of the chequered life of Sir Robert Kerr, first Earl of Ancrum, whose first Nuptials 'Hymen's Triumph' celebrated, see the 'Dictionary of National Biography,' s.n. Born 1578; died 1654. He was the eldest son of William Kerr of Ancrum, by Margaret, d. of Dundas of Fingask. He died in abject poverty in exile at Amsterdam. His dead body was arrested for debt, but Cromwell interfered and the funeral proceeded. The 'Letters' of this brilliant but unfortunate nobleman have been recently published. He had also a vein of poetry. The Lady of 'Hymen's Triumph' was his first wife—Elizabeth, d. of Sir John Murray of Blackbarony.

A. B. G.

VOL. IV.



I.

PREFACE AND EPISTLES

BEFORE

PAULUS IOUIUS.

1585.

VOL. IV.

NOTE.

Notwithstanding the title-page's designation of Paulus Jovius's treatise as "the worthy tract," it has long passed into oblivion and has no living interest. Hence we do not reproduce the treatise itself, as we must have done had it been Daniel's own original composition. But in our Memorial-Introduction II.—Critical, in the present volume, I give representative quotations to show its quality, and Daniel's usual excellent English even thus early. All still quick are (1) Daniel's Epistle-dedicatory to Sir Edward Dimmock; (2) N. W.'s Epistle to Daniel; and (3) Daniel's Essay by way of preface. These are inevitably included in his Prose. Below is the original title-page. Our exemplar is a fine one of the original and only edition (a duodecimo of 72 leaves = 144 pages).

A. B. G.

THE

Worthy tract of

Paulus Iouius, contayning a

Discourse of rare inventions, both Militarie and Amorous called Imprese.

VV hereunto is added a Preface contayning the Arte of composing them, with many other notable deuises.

By Samuell Daniell late Student in Oxenforde.



AT LONDON,
Printed for Simon Waterfon.
1585.



TO THE RIGHT

WORSHIPFVL SIR EDWARD

Dimmock, Champion to her Maiestie, SAMVEL DANIEL wisheth happie health with increase of Worship.



He vnskilfull Statuarie wanting the twoo principall instruments of his science, iudgement, and art: having rudely fashed ioned the forme of either some Apollo or Cupid, & waighing therewithal, the basenes of his simple worke: by good aduise erecteth the same on the sommitie of some high Piller, to the end that both the errors therein

committed, may escape the narrow vewe of the captious, & likewise shadow all impersections which might dislike the curious, both which he auoydeth by the distance of his loftie mounted statue, escaping thereby the staine of reproofe. In like maner right worshipfull, haue I aduëtured to place these my vnpolished labors on the Piller of your worthines, craving the supportance of your favorable protection. Whose | worthy name and Martial title being enstamped in their forehead, shal adorne them with a sufficiet ornamet to passe the vewe without reprehension. And if herein I shall any way satisfie the delight of the studious Gentlemen, you alone are to receive the guerdon of their favorable voyces, whose offered courtese hath enforced me to undertake the tillage of so hard a soyle, to make you a present of the first fruites thereof: which if they are not such as your vertues deserve or my affection defires, yet fring they from the ground of a willing minde. Solon ordayned that the Sacrifices offered to the Goddes, should bee of as little cost as might bee, to the ende that great expences might not hinder religion, saving: the Goddes did onely accept the willing heart respecting the pietie of the giver, without waighing the largenesse of the gift. And I hope my small Sacrifice, proceeding from devotion, shall be accepted on the Aulter of your courtefie. To whom he wisheth all happie felicitie, who remayneth alwaies yours at

commaunde.

Samuel Daniell./



TO HIS GOOD

FREND SAMVEL DANIEL,

N. W. Wisheth health.



Knowe not whether to excuse your nature (good M. DANIEL) or blame your shamefastnesse, which so much laboreth (as the vtter enemy of your good name) to desraude your labors of their deserued Lawrell, & in despight of arte to depriue vs of so delicate inuctions, which the best wits in *Europe* haue dedicated to posteritie: wherein surely, you

iniurie your countreymen publikely, vnnaturally your frends, and vnaduifedly your felfe. But what can you pretend? The feueritie of Cenfors, the nice delicatenes of Courtiers, or the grauetie of Philosophers? What Philosophy taught you that? That which is currant may abyde the touch, the yong Æglets dare looke

vpon the Sunne, and that which is eloquently polished may abyde the presse. Why then may not your Iouius looke any man in the face, having arte to direct him, authoritie to defend him, all humanitie to pleade for him? If you misdoubt his grace in the Vniuersitie, the / Muses will give him their voyces, if the suffrages of the holy virgins in the Courte, they are Graces themfelues. If onely the multitude Odi profanum vulgus & arceo. For I suppose you remember the olde prouerbs: that it is great trouble to make a Couche for a dogge, for that turning himselfe so variably, no man knoweth where to place the Pillowe: and fo mutable and vnconstant is the multitude, that it is not for a wife man to indeuour to feede their humour or fit their fancies. Yet doe not thinke that every prudent reader is like to wanton Mistresse Æmilia, who would ordinarily flout the first line she read: or to curious Gonzaga, furnamed the Carper, who no fooner heard a pretie inuention, but would recompence it with his gentell girkes: Or to Theodorus scollers, which received euery thing with their left hand, which their master gaue with the right, or to the Hidropicus, who having no iudgement of tastes, yet neuer liketh any sawce, and codemneth all Cookes. Therefore I would wish you as your frende, neuer to fmotther fo fweete inuentions, for feare of Cenfors, who in words perhaps will debase it, which in deede they conceiue not, and controll that they cannot amende, neyther following the counfell of the wife, nor the example of the vertuous.

There is another point in your last letter, wherein you seeme to marre al that you have made, / and dash that which so cunningly was deuised. For sooth you

blush to open another mans shop, and sell Italian wares as though you were a Bankerupt in philosophie, and could not afforde any pritie conceipt without borowing or embeselling. I pray you Syr, shal Castilio be more reuerenced for his courtier, then D. Clarke admired for inuesting him with so courtlie robes? shall Menander be eternized for his Comedies, and Terence forgot who gaue them credit: Shall Lambin, Cardan, and Scaliger, and the most excellent Secretaries of nature, Plinie, Matthiolus & Tolet, shall they be lesse reuereced, for perfecting knowledge, the the old Philosophers for a shadowed inuention? shal the witte and capacitie of antiquitie fit in her throne, and disposition & judgement of posteritie keepe the dore: no reason, the one deuised, the other disposed. Iouius therefore is bound vnto you, both for abfoluting and blazing his inuetions abroad in this famous Iland, and wee are beholding vnto you for reuealing them to vs: wherein truely both arte in translating, & knowledge in iudging, iustly may chalege their fees. You cannot forget that which Nolanus (that man of infinite titles among other phantasticall toyes) truely noted by chaunce in our Schooles, that by the helpe of translations, al Sciences had their ofspring: and in my judgement it is true. The Hebrewes hatched knowledge, Greece / did nourish it, Italie clothed and beautified it. & the artes which were left as wards in their minoritie to the people of Rome, by Translators as most carefull Gardiners, are now deduced to perfect age and ripenesse. Cocerning the nakednes of your stile (which troubleth you, without the colours or florish of Rhetorique) Tullie commendeth it, al Translators approue it: and no man maketh fo much accopt of

the gloffe as of the fubstance: of the gay Iuie bush as of the wine: Neither could it preiudice you at all (if it were naked as in deede it is pure) because you have not done it as the Sybaritæ, that bad their guestes a whole yere before the feaft, to make fome expectation of a fumptuous banket. A toye would require all brauerie: Vanitie all ornaments, and an Asse had neede of all his trappings. But your argument is fuch as can both moue and delight, tickle the eare and fatisfie the minde. And our time also hath learned to lothe that od riming vaine, and to perfecute the letter is cleane out of fashion, which begon by a bad portraiture of wit, and is ended by a ripe direction of judgement. But why doe I rather aunswere the capcious, then fatisfie the graue and modest, who at the first vewe (I dare prefume vpon their wifedome) will fubscribe to the supremacie of the wit of your newe Science. For if Courtiers are inwardly rauished in vewing the Picture of Fia | metta which Boccace limned. If Ladies entertaine Bandel or Ariosto in their Closets. If Louers imbrace their Phisition Ouid in extremitie of their passion: then will Gentlemen of all tribes, much rather honor your Impresa, as a most rare Iewell, and delicate Enchiridion. For here is not published a florish vpon fancie, or Tarletons toyes, or the fillie Enterlude of Diogenes: You professe not Artem iocandi or Potadi: You discourse not of Apuleius Asse: You trifle not as Cornelius the Brabantine, who published (Anno 1582) an Encomion of Tuftmockados: But you present vs an order to frame Deuises, in shew glorious, in forme plain, in title strauge: the which is so much the more to bee esteemed, being deriued fro the most pure springs Lucas Contile, and

Ruscelli, whom I cannot name without some Preface to their commedation. What should I recount Dominicus and Alciat, with whom you feeme to have beene very familiarly acquainted, which addeth much credite to your woorke, and notably hath given light to your studies. But concerning the arte of Imprese, I neede not draw the petigree of it, fith it is knowne that it descended from the auncient Agiptians, and Chaldeans, in the Schoole of Memphis: who deuised meanes before Charecters were founde out, to vtter their conceiptes by formes of Beaftes, Starres, Hearbes, (as you have declared) and these notes were called $\iota\epsilon\rho$ 0 $\gamma\lambda\mu\phi\iota\kappa\alpha$ / i. facræ notæ. This Philosophie was increased by Orus Niliacus, and Pythagoras: & was more plainely reuealed by Clemens, Paufanias, Atheneus: & in this last age reuiued by Pierius Valerian. But to what end ferued this? to fhadow fuerly their purpofes and intents by figures. So counfayled Plato: So practifed the first parents of Philosophie. As by the picture of a Stork they fignified Αντιπελαργία. By a Serpent pollicie. By an Oliue peace. By a Gote lust: drawing these Charecters fro the world, as from a volume wherein was written the wonders of nature. Thus was the first foundations layd of Imprese: From hence were derived by succession of pregnant wittes Stemmata Coates of Armes, Infignia Enfignes, and the olde Images which the Romaines vsed as witnesses of their Auncestors, Emblemes and Deuises. Then what was the intet of these Ensignes and Deuises? What cause can bee pretended for them? What did they import? Iamblicus saieth that they were conceiptes, by an externall forme representing an inward purpose: So Fergusus the first Scottishe King did beare in his Standard a Lion geules, to bewray his courage, testifie his stomacke, and dismaie his aduersarie, which being well marshalled, is borne for the atchiuement of the Kinges euer fince. So did the Athenians beare their Owle: the Thebans their Sphinx: the Switzers their Beare. But among all inventions, furpasse for witt & art your Imprese: neither lesse renowmed then the Infegnes, nor leffe heroicall then the Armes called by Paradin Symbola Heroica, by Simeon deuises illustres. Minoes, a man otherwise excellently qualified in all humanitie, femeth neither perfectly to define Imprefes, nor artificially to diffinguishe them from Emblemes. The fole worde Symbolum euery way is to large and generall a terme for them, έξ θυ ἐστιν καὶ μᾶς συμβαλλαν καὶ γνωμαι, that note by which we know or ca cojecture any thing, is Symbolum. Now in this scope and generallitie, how is it restrayned, how doth he measure and fit that word for Imprese ? Sumitur hic Symbolum pro argumento seu nota qua quod piam occultatur, sed doctis auribus intelligedum proponitur. There is great ods (my good freend) betwixt this adumbration and your fubftantial definition. If we respect the forme it is lame, and why so? because there is no proper difference to supporte it. And this is an infallible grounde: for feeing it comprehendeth all the former, Standards, Liurees & Armes, it is rather an vniuerfall note then a speciall Idea: if we regarde the circumstaunces, it is very superficiall: if the final ende, confused. Now to come to the difference of Emblemes, and Impreses, what subtilitie doth he shewe in it? Symbolum est genus, Emblema species: This motion is to vniuerfall, rather tending to deuide the genus then

to define the *species*: but the / difference must bee borrowed, from the properties: and because this is a case worthie to be demurred, let vs consult more curiously with our artistes, let vs conferre with our professor, what distinction maketh Iouius? I must excuse him as Traian did a certain Poet, Plus est in arte quam in artisce. For as Minoes judgeth of him, Artem hanc inchoauit potius quam perfecit. But in deed these two conceipts are allied by so greate affinitie, their intents and pictures fo vniforme, and cofonant: that without sharpe infight wee cannot discypher their difference. Emblema is derived of ἐμβάλλω. interponere, inserere: quicquid interseritur ornatus gratia, whether the inuention bee embrodered in garmentes, grauen in stone, enchased in golde, wrought in Arras: and in my opinion there is great imparitie betweene them, both in body and foule. They are diffeuered by fondrie Cognifances, established by reason and confirmed by reading, and may bee authorifed by experience. mot of an Impresa may not exceede three wordes. Emblems are interpreted by many verses. An Impresa is not garnished with many different Images, Emblemes are not limited. In Deuises it is enacted that the figure without the mot or the mot without the figure should not interprete the Authors meaning. In Emblems is more libertie and fewer lawes. Impreses manifest the special purpose of Gentlemen in warlike combats or chamber tornaments. Emblems are generall conceiptes rather of moral matters then perticulare deliberations: rather to giue credit to the wit, then to reueale the fecretes of the minde. What should I say more? This Impresa, is that perfect Symbolum: for antiquitie

to bee reuerenced: for worthinesse admired: for pleasure embraced. Pardon me (I pray you) if I rainge a little & chase a discourse in this so wide a Forrest: let me recorde some monument of the olde Registers of Greece.

Agamemnon Soueraigne at the feige of Troy, bare in his sheild a Lion saliant, with this mot ουτος μεν φόβος εστί βροτῶν. Amphitruo being encamped against the Thebans, caused to be portrayed vpon his Target, Cum quadrigis fol exoriens, and breathed life into that body by this foule, In arduo laurus. Artemesia to testifie her felfe a loyall wife to her Lorde and King wore in her Tablet an Eliotropium, rifing and falling with the Sunne, adding this mot, Perfoluet vota pietas, which was verified, for the enterred the athes of her flain husband, in no other Tombe then in her owne body, fo that death could fcarfe diuorfe them. But let vs come nigher hande. Vascus Gama being diswaded from the Indian voyage (neuer before attempted) erected a globe elumined with Starres, vpon a piller of golde, with this fentence Vndique par: respe / cting the auncient verse, Vndique ad superos tantundem est viæ. not our Printers also of late honored this profession? Haue they not bene at emulation for ingenious Deuises? Stephen glorieth in his tree, and moderateth those (that loue to mout by loftie witts) with this Posie: Noli altum sapere. (The tree of good and ill.) Plantin beareth a compasse in a hande stretched out of the cloudes which measureth all, Constantia & labore. I will omit Griphius Episcopus: I will forget all artificers, who commonly buy fuch inuentions at the fecond hand. I will not meddle with Courtiers, I will passe ouer the knowen Impreses of Moore and Cromwell, a payre royall

of nobles. And now I will bring you to Church. A certain English Prelate, deuised a Lambe in a thorne bush, pitifully inflamed, yet casting his eyes cherefully vppon the Sunne with this mot. Ne cede. Tell me how you like this Heroycall Impresa of Curtius Gonzaga. Tu ne cede malis sed contra auretius. An Egle flying on high against the Sunne, with this word pur che, a parte of that verse of Petrarche. Pur che ne godan gli orchi, ardan le piume. For that which delighteth my eyes burneth my fethers. A frend of mine, whom you know, M. P. climing for an Egles nest, but defeated by the mallalent of fortune, limned in his studie a Pine tree striken with lightning, carying this mot, Il mio fperar, which was borowed also from Petrarch. Allor che fulminato e morto giaacque il mio sperar che | tropp' alto mintana. (My hopes.) Yet in despight of fortune he deuised also a Pinnace or small Barke, tossed with tempestious stormes, and in the faile was written expectanda dies, hoping as I think for one Sunne shine day to recompence fo many glomy and winter monethes. Therfore now to conclude, feeing your argument is plaufible, the arte a noueltie, your first fruites ripe, what reason is there, why you should privatly bestowe them of fome one gentleman: efpecially conidering that you can please him no way better, then to pleasure his countrey me. For who doth not know M. Dimmock, to be a gentleman by famely worshipfull, by loyaltie vnípotted, by office the Princes Champion: fo also by curtesie worthy the Chronicle? what neede you the to feare the mallice of the weakest enemy that may bee a carping tongue, hauing him for the Champio of your booke, whom her Maiestie hath vouchfased the Champion

of her person, or why seare you least our old Academicks improve your art for a toy, seeing that wisdome is not incorporated to Nightcaps, neither must wee depend vpon the verdite of some conceled Philosophers.

Thus am I bold to animate and encourage you to your credite, which if I have done to long, so vppon occasion did Tullio, Plato, Seneca: if rudely, ascribe it to simplicitie, if sleightly to the rarenes of your arte: if to copiously / to a feruent desire: for seeing that in verbis est aliquod præmium, I had rather shewe my selfe to prodigall to my frends, then a snudge: which when you have read, sier it.

From Oxensord the xx. of

Yours, N W.



TO THE FREND-LY READER.



Thought it good (right worshipfull and curteous gentlemen) to communicate with you this delightsome tract of strange deuises, barely clothed in an English habite, voyde of al such ornaments as are due unto the worthines thereof:

presuming upon your wisdomes, who had rather gather a pleasant flower springing amongst the sharpe thornes, for the fweet sauour, then a gay colored weede for all the fayre semblance: esteeming the value of the precious treasure not by the outward shewe, but the inward substance, sith often we finde by triall meliora latere, and faire shewes to proue often fond shadowes. Caliestephenon in Palestine, hath a corrupt barke, but a pure body: And well may a gallant blossome fit the humour of a delicate eye, when the gaynfull fruite shall satisfie the sauour of a discreet taste. But the Diamant hath ingendred a naturall forme, so that it neede no artificiall frame, a gay glosse may better beseeme a course ! Kersey, then a fine Skarlet. My weake commendations of these notable and rare inventions, may rather eclipse their credit, then purchase their same, therefore I referre them to the censure of your considerate readers, for whose better vnderstand of the Imprese of Paulus Iouius (who

in many places have erred from the common received precepts) I have gathered into a certayne order the way of framing and composing all such kindes of devises both militarie and amorous vsed at this day of the noble gentlemen of Europe, in adorning their glorious triumphes, or declaring their inward pretended purposes and enterprises, not by speach or any apparent maner, but shadowed under a certayne vayle of formes or figures in such fort as shall hereafter be declared. And although that to fignifie our intentions by these formes or figures of creatures, be not a thing more notable then speech or writing, which perfectly doe manifest any operation, whereas the other doth doubtfully discouer our pretences. Yet I say, that to represent vnto the sence of sight the forme or figure of any thing, is more natural in act, & more comon to al creatures then is hearing, and thereupon fayth Aristotle, that we love the sence of seeing, for that by it we are taught and made to learne more then by any other of our senses: whereby we see that all men naturally take delight in pictures, and even litle children as soone as they can vse their hands at libertie, goe with a Cole to the wall, indevoring to drawe the forme of this thing or that. This naturall disposition hath | raigned generally even from the beginning when the worlde was but yet new, and induced nations first to figure beasts, plants, trees, celestiall signes, and such like, observing the nature and qualitie of euery creature represented by their figures, whereby in time they became able to shewe their intent to their frends and others vayled under the forme of these creatures, in which facultie the Ægyptians were most fingulare as the first authors of this Hieroglyphicall art: as well do witnesse their sacred Colomnes dedicated to

Mercurie, whereon were divers formes and pictures wrought and engrauen, contayning great knowledge, which they called Hieroglyphi, To the which pillers Plato is fayde to have gone and retourned with great profit. Yet notwithstanding, in my opinion their deuise was vnperfect, by reason of the diversitie of the natures of beaftes and other things which they figured. Whereupon they who drewe more neere unto our time seemeth to have brought this art to perfection, by adding mots or posses to their figures, whereby they couertly disclose their intent by a more perfect order. Moreover besides the figuring of things corporall and of vifible forme, men have also represented things incorporal, which they could not doe more fitly then by colours, as representing sorowe by blacke, desire to shed bloud by red, puritie by white, &c. And now fith time hath brought to perfection many notable deuises, which rude antiquitie could not discerne: Let vs confider by howe many wayes we may discover our secret intentions by | colours and figures, as first by Liurees, fecondly by Enfignes, thirdly by mots, and lastly by Imprese, of which foure kindes of Deuises, I purpose to set downe distinctly in sewe words their significations and properties, according to the opinion of the best authors which ever have written of this matter.

This worde Liuree is borowed of the Spanishe, which they write with b, librea, but pronounce it as written with v. Some say it had his Etemologiè of Libro, for that Liurees are as an opë booke where a man may reade the intent of him which weareth them. Some also will have it derived of Libero, and that for two reasons, the one, in that from the beginning it hath beene a profession onely of Gentlemen, and noble personages: and although

that servaints do commonly weare these Liurees, yet are they not said to be their owne but their patrones. For Plutarch in the life of Solon saieth, that servaintes were forbidden any free exercise. The other reason may bee, for that the Authors setting them to the common viewe, being not altogether apparent, commit them libero iudicio, to the free iudgement of the Interpreter. Some will have it brought from the Latin, Liber eram, for that the principall purpose of Liurees have been to shewe some amorous service, and for this onely intent were they first invented at the beginning, to shewe that they which did weare them, were no more free of them selves but subject servaintes to their Mistrisses: as who should say, Liber eram, I was free, but now bound: according to that of Virgil, should strongs.

It is faid that Liurees of only colours, had their originall after this manner: that the Gentlemen which loued or rather (to speake after the Spanish or Neapolitan manner) which served any Lady, with that amorous kinde of service, which is vsed in those places, were accustomed, to marke with what coloured robe their Mistriffe was inuested, to the end to decke them selves with apparell of the same colour & cut. But some supposing that to be to great a presumptio, thought rather to addresse the selves in a habite of the same colour, as did the domesticall servantes of their Ladie, to denouate humilitie, and shew them selues readie for any service commaunded by her foueranitie: Yet now, for divers respectes, in this our time the discrete Gentlemen bound to the performance of this strict Obligation of faith and fecrecie, have deuised a closer couert for their amorous conceiptes, by colours and figures in their Liurees, which are now

more commonly called Deuises, in all the most florishing Countries of Christendome: which also is not forgotte of Ariosto, in these verses following, recounting the Deuise of Bradamante, whereby she expressed her dispayre, and desire to die.

Era la soprauesta del colore
Di ch' esser suol la foglia, che s'imbianca,
Quando dal ramo è tolta, è che l'humore
Che facea uiuo l'arbore, le manca:
Ricamata à tronconi, era di fuore
Di | cipresso, che mai non si rin franca
Poi ch' ha sentito la dura bipenne
L' habito al suo dolor molto conuenne.

Thus in effect in English.

Her vpper robe of fuch like colour was, As is the fading leafe of palish hew Whe from the bowe the liuely sap doth passe Which nourish did the stock whereon it grew Embrodered al with braunches thick aboue, And fading bowes of dolefull Cipresse tree: Which cut with deadly axe doth neuer proue This habit with her griefe did well agree.

There are first, diligently to be observed in these Deuises or Liurees three things: The time when: The place where: and the maner how they are to be vsed. Concerning the time: they are never worne but either in true or fained warre, or at Iusts, Turneis, Maskes, or at such like extravagant shewes. The place fit for them, are on armed men or Maskers, worne in such place as

they best like about their persons: albeit the Helmet, the Shielde, the Bardes, the borders of the garment, or the breast, are the fittest places appointed for them. maner of vfing them is divers, according to their species: but first generally you are to observe this, that they bee not too intricate, in greate number, nor so confused that they neede some Apollo to resolve them. Perticularly it behoueth to note the deuision of / their species which are of al kindes of Deuises or Liurees fixe. The first confisteth altogether of colours: The second of colours and figures: The third of colours and letters: The fourth of colours, figures and letters: The fifth of figures onely: The fixth of figures and letters. Concerning the first, colours alone, are now feldome vfed but of Mourners, or such like. As for example, a certaine Gentleman on a time, having ill successe in his amorous service, and spending his time in dolor and griefe, was advertised that the wife of a certaine freende of his was departed this life, whereupon it behoued him to put on mourning apparell: and having occasion to shewe himselfe at a feast, he clothed him in blacke Grogran drawne out with Taffatie, & both cut on blacke Damaske, in such sorte that the Damaske was best seene to bee blackest: which mourning habite was no foner seene of such as knewe the historie of his love, but they perceived what it fignified, as well as if he himselfe had declared it; and greatly did they commend the invention. For with the uppermost blacke he represented sorowe for the dead: with that underneath he mourned for his freend, but his owne blacke appeared more and fignified some greater griefe, and that of his frend seemed lesse, and represented lesse in effect. For in his opinion lesse griefe was it to bee

deprived of a wife, fith she is called to the heavens, then to stand secluded from the favour of a proude disdainefull dame, whileft an other enioyes the fruite of his deferued affections. But to returne to our purpose, Liurees of / onely colours, and also with colours and figures are wont to serue in effect, but for the shewe of one day, either at Iusts, Maskes, or other solemne festivall sportinges, where are commonly affembled a great multitude of people: and to the end that Gentlemen and Gentlewomen (which give the vew but as they passe by, among so great a companie) may not stande to muse about the intention of the subject, there is vsed a mot to declare the meaning, & these kinde of mots pertayning to Liurees, are to bee composed in the same language which is there vsed where they are prejented: and it is requifite they bee shorte so that they exceede not two of our verses: very rarely are they made of foure, yet so they may be if neede require. These mots so composed serve for colours alone, or els for colours accompanied with figures, or with figures alone: and when they shalbe iouned with colours alone, yet are they called Liurees, when with colours, figures and the mot, which shall exceede three wordes being manifest of it selfe and serving for no other purpose but to declare the signification of the colours and figures, they are likewise then called Liurees or Insegnes, and as I have before fayd, they serue only for one day. These last properties rehearsed, that the mot may passe three wordes, and that it must be plaine and manifest, serving onely to disclose the meaning of the colours and figures: note well, for therein confisteth the difference betweene Liurees and Impreses, which are altogether divers. The ignoraunce of which distinction deceived many in the | composing of

Impreses. And also Iouius him self in his discourses following was greatly oversene in putting no difference betweene Impreses, Liurees, and Insegnes, as you may plainely perceive. This worde Insegne is taken from the Latin, by the which is signified Standards, Banners, and also the Helmets of the chiefe Souldiers and Captaines, as may appeare in this verse of Virgil.

Danaumque infignia nobis.

Aptemus Clypeos, but chiefly it is now taken for Standards or Banners, which are capable of all such properties mentioned before in Liurees, as either of colours alone, as when they are all red, all white, all blacke, &c. Or when they are of severall colours, as white and red, or in like maner of any other. To them also may bee added mots, as many notable men have vsed of late time: & also colours with figures, or figures alone: all in such maner as hath bene shewne in Deuises or Liurees. The Ensigne is also fit for Impreses, of the which I am hereafter to speake, and many therein set the Armes of their house: whereof to recite examples this shorte Preface will not afforde, fith ech of them severally require a whole volume: only suffice it, briefly that we touch them, to the end we may the better understande the forme of Impreses: which before I come to hadle, it is necessary that I say fomewhat of Mots, which truely are of great excellencie if they bee gallantly composed. And first this word mot signifieth as much as Gnome, a shorte sentence or Posie, whose places are divers. Some vse | to set them on gates, as that which (according to the fiction of the Poet) was set on Hell gate. Lasciate ogni speranza voi chi intrate. Lay aside all hope, all you which enter in.

A ridiculous mot or posie is not to be vsed but in some

occasion of maskes, or to quip an enemy, as for example, a certaine Cardinal in Rome for some offence being imprisoned, and after put to death, it was bruted abroade, that the Pope had done it to pleasure two of his Nephewes with his livings, wherupon one lively pictured the Jayd Cardinall on the Crosse, and the two your Cardinals preferred to his livings, at his feet beholding him with this Posie in their hands, Crucifixus etia pro nobis. But the mots which are chiefly vsed, are either amorous or grave, & they beare a great grace if they be perfectly coposed with their circustances & properties, so that they be short, & exceede not if it be possible a verse in any tongue. Yet Latin & Greek verses of fix feete are to long to be vsed whole, wherefore of the it is better to take a part, as nullu scelus error habebat. And better are they esteemed being take out of some famous author. As out of Quid, Horace, Catullus and other Latin Poets, out of Homer, Hefiodus, Callimachus, or any good author of the Greekes out of Petrarch, Deuine Ariosto, Date Bembo, and other famous in the Italian togue, & aboue all, if it be possible, let them leave some scruple whereon to meditate, to him who either readeth or heares them: and it is lawfull to vse them without figures, although that Paulus Iouius vainly termeth | them fo vsed, soules without bodies.

There is also another kind of Deuise called in Italian, Cifre celate, which many have heretofore vsed being ignorant of Imprese: which invention is onely for youth, and very vnfit for men of gravitie, serving the but to sport with their Ladies, by couaying their names into some Pose or figure, which they ware in toke of their service: of this kind you shal find fit examples in Paulus

Iouius, which I have noted in the Margent. The invention is altogether barraine, and vtterly difliked of the wife.

Thus having briefly touched the principall points of the former Deuises, it resteth that I say somewhat of Impreses, which is the most notable, ingenious and perfect king of all other. And first to declare the signification of the worde, with the diffinition, I fay, that Impresa is vsed of the Italians for an enterprise, take in hand with a firme & constat intet to bring the same to effect. As if a Prince or Captaine taking in hand some enterprise of war, or any other perticulare affaire, desirous by some figure & mot to manifest to the world his intet, this figure & mot together is called an Impresa, made to signifie an enterprise, wherat a noble mind leveling with the aime of a deepe defire, strives with a stedy intet to gaine the prife of his purpose. For the valiat & hautie gentlemen, disdayning to coioine with the vile and base Plebeians in any rustique invention, have procured to thefelues this one most singulare, which time hath now at length perfited and rought into a more regulare order. And the chiefe places whereon | they vse to weare these their Impreses are their Standards, Shields, Helmets, Brooches, Tablets or such like. The time when, is either in Warres, Iusts, or amorous services. And you are to note, that Impreses are not Hereditarie, as are Armes, for the sonne may not vse the Impresa of father, nor the successors of their ancestors, and it behoueth that they be of no other colours, faue onely blacke and white, vnlesse it be rather to adorne them, then for any necessitie, and chiefly in the composing of them, are to be noted thefe five properties. First, that they have not many kinds of

different formes, for at the most there can be but three, in a persect Impresa, vnlesse they be parts of the whole: as the Sunne, Moone and Starres represent onely the heavens, which may be the intent of the Impresa: or as many trees, slowers and herbs, represent onely a Garden. As for example, a certayne gentleman sigured a garden with Palmes, Bayes, Marigolds and Roses, with this mot, Tu have omnia, to significe that his mistresse deserved the Palme for her beautie, & that she was free fro the assalt of Loue as is the Lawrell fro the wrath of the heavens, that she drewe the eyes of his mind after her, as doth the Sunne the Marigolde, and that by the vertue of her comfortable lookes she revived his heart, as doe the ioysul beames the blowming Rose. But now in any other case divers formes are not to be vsed.

Secondly, the mot or pose of an Impresa may not exceede three words, vnlesse it be composed of some of these. Dum. Nec. Et. Non. In. Per. Aut. si. Cum. Vt. and then may it have foure, as Nec spe nec metu.

Thirdly, that the mot be taken out of some famous author. This precept is good, but not alwayes necessarie.

Fourthly, that it be not altogether manifest nor too too obscure, neither yet triviall or common.

Fifthly, that the figure without the mot, or the mot without the figure fignific nothing, in respect of the intent of the author, and this precept is of great importance, for many ignorant hereof, have composed Imprese altogether vayne and voyde of all invention. As when the figure of it selfe or the mot of it selfe, suffice to declare the meaning: wherfore either the one or the other is superfluous. As he which figured a Harte in the middest of fire, with this mot, Il cuore ho in success.

as he which depainted a Cupid, with his Bowe & shafts, & thereunto this verse, A gli strali d' amor son satto fegno. To Cupids shafts 1 am ordayned the Butte. Or not vnlike to that of him in Iouius, which figured a Chimney with a great fire and smoke, with this mot. Doue è gran fuoco è gran fumo, Where there is great fire, there is great smoke, in all which the mot without the figure, or the figure without the mot, might have served the purpose as well. But if vnto the fire & smoke had bene added this mot, Vtrug; simul, the Impresa had beene most perfect. The like | defect had that of Borgia, which likewife Iouius doth mention, which was the mountayne Acroceraunii, wherunto, if in stede of feriunt summos fulgura montes had bene added Humiliora minus, or humiliora nunquam, therein had wanted no perfection. Iouius also addeth for a precept in the rules of Imprese, that in them there ought to be no humayne forme: which precept is most true, if it be in the ordinarie and simple forme of a man, for that rarenes is rather delightfom: but yet when the humaine forme shalbe in a strange & vnaccustomed maner, it beareth a great grace. As did that of Sinior Bernabo Adorno, being inamored of a noble and vertuous Lady, who often certified him both by speach and writing, that the arrowes of love could not enter or passe farther then her gowne. Whereupon the Gentleman composed an Impresa which was a Cupid, holding in one hand the vaile of his eyes, and in the other hand an Arcobuze fettled to his brest, as if he were readie to discharge it, and thereunto this mot, Hoc peraget. To fignifie that he had omitted no feruice, devotion, or loyaltie in his purfute, which are the onely maynshotte of Loue, and are

able to batter the bulwarke of a rigorous breast, and make the most slintie heart to yeeld.

Thus have I in fewe words (gentlemen) declared the properties of a perfect Impresa, to the end your choyce therein may be currant, sith many deceive themselves with a counterfeit. And so wishing the happie successe of all your vertuous Impreses and godly | pretences, I referre you to the reading of Paulus Iouius, till time my studies shall yeeld you a better present of the like subiect.

S. D.

NOTE.—Throughout, the spelling and punctuation, etc., of Daniel is adhered to. For the (relatively) few words and names needing explanation, see Glossarial Index, in Vol. V., s. z.

A. B. G.



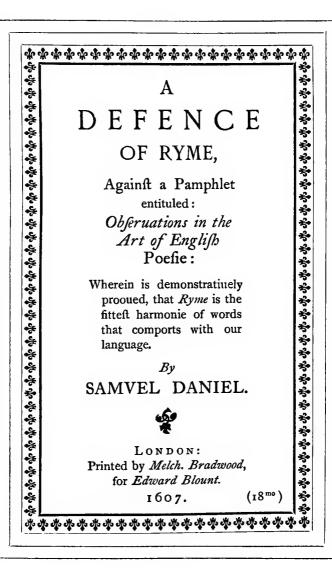
II.

A DEFENCE OF RYME.

NOTE.

For our exemplar of the 'Defence of Ryme' (distinct from that in the 'Small Workes' of 1607) I am indebted to the British Museum (C. 34. a. 2). The title-page is given opposite. See on it and Hazlewood's reprint, our Memorial-Introduction II.—Critical, in the present volume.

A. B. G.





To all the Worthy Louers, and learned Professors of Ryme, within his Maiesties Dominions.

S. D.



ORTHY Gentlemen, about a yeere fince, vpon the great reproach given to the Professours of Ryme, and the vse thereof, I wrote a private Letter, as a defence of mine owne vndertakings in that kinde, to a learned Gentleman,

a great friend of mine, then in Court. Which I did, rather to confirme my selfe in mine owne courses, and to hold him from being wonne from vs, then with any desire to publish the same to the world.

But now, seeing the times to promise a more regard to the present condition of our writings, in respect of our Sourceigns happie inclination this way; whereby we are rather to expect an incouragement to goe on with that we doe, then that any innovation should checke vs, with a shew of what | it would doe in another kinde, and yet doe nothing but depraue: I have now given a greater bodie to the same argument: and heere present it to your

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view, vnder the patronage of a noble Erle, who in blood and nature is interessed to take our part in this cause, with others, who can not, I know, but holde deare the monuments that have beene left vnto the world in this maner of composition: and who I trust will take in good part this my Defence; if not as it is my particular, yet in respect of the cause I vndertake, which I heere inuoke you all to protect. SA. D.





To

William Herbert Erle of Pembrooke.



HE generall custome and vse of Ryme in this Kingdome, Noble Lord, having beene so long (as if from a grant of Nature) held vnquestionable; made mee to imagine that it lay altogether out of the way of contradiction, and

was become fo naturall, as we should never haue had a thought to cast it off into reproch, or be made to thinke that it ill-became our language. But now I see, when there is opposition made to all things in the world by words, we must now at length likewise fall to contend for words themselues; and make a question, whether they be right or no. For we are told how that our measures goe wrong, all Ryming is grosse, vulgar, barbarous: which if it bee so, we have lost much labour to no purpose; and for mine owne particular, I can not but blame the fortune of the times and mine owne Genius, that cast me vpon so wrong a course, drawen with the current of custome, and an vnexamined example. Hauing beene first encouraged and fram'd

thereunto by your most worthy and honorable mother, and received the / first notion for the formall ordering of those compositions at Wilton, which I must ever acknowledge to have beene my best schoole, and thereof alwayes am to holde a feeling and gratefull memorie. Afterward, drawen farther on by the well liking and approbation of my worthy Lord, the fosterer of me and my Muse, I aduentured to bestow all my whole powers therein, perceiuing it agreed fo wel, both with the complexion of the times and mine owne constitution, as I found not wherein I might better imploy mee. But yet now, vpon the great discovery of these new measures, threatning to overthrow the whole state of Ryme in this Kingdome, I must either fland out to defend, or els be forced to forfake my felfe, and giue ouer all. And though irrefolution and a felse distrust be the most apparent faults of my nature, and that the least checke of reprehension, if it fauour of reason, will as easily shake my resolution as any mans living: yet in this case, I know not how I am growen more refolued, and before I fincke, willing to examine what those powers of iudgement are, that must beare me downe, and beat me off from the station of my profession, which by the law of Nature I am fet to defend.

And the rather for that this Detractour (whose commendable Rymes, albeit now himselse an enemy to Ryme, haue given heretofore to the World the best notice of his worth) is a man of faire parts and good reputation, and therfore the reproch forcibly cast from such a hand may throw downe more at once than the labours of many shall in long time / build vp againe,

fpecially vpon the slipperie foundation of opinion, and the World's inconstancy, which knowes not well what it would haue, and

Discit enim citius, meminitque libentius illud Quodquis deridet quā quod probat et veneratur.

And he who is thus become our vnkind adversary, must pardon vs if we be as iealous of our fame and reputation, as hee is defirous of credit by his new-old arte, and must consider that we cannot, in a thing that concerns vs fo neere, but have a feeling of the wrong done, wherein euery Rymer in this vniuerfall Iland, as well as my felfe, stands interessed. So that if his charity had equally drawen with his learning, he would haue forborne to procure the enuie of fo powerfull a number vpon him, from whom he can not but expect the returne of a like measure of blame, and onely haue made way to his owne grace, by the proofe of his abilitie, without the disparaging of vs, who would have beene glad to have flood quietly by him, and perhaps commended his aduenture, feeing that euermore of one Science an other may be born, and that those salies made out of the quarter of our fet knowledges, are the gallant proffers only of attemptive spirits, and commendable, though they worke no other effect than make a Brauado: and I know it were Indecens & morofum nimis, aliena industriæ, modum ponere. We could well haue allowed of his numbers, had he not difgraced our Ryme: which both Custome and Nature doth most powerfully defend: Custome, that is before all Law: Nature, that is aboue all Art. Euery language hath her proper number or / measure fitted to vse and

delight, which, Custome entertaining by the allowance of the Eare, doth modernize and make Naturall. verse is but a frame of wordes confinde within certaine measure; differing from the ordinarie speech, and introduced, the better to expresse mens conceits, both for delight and memorie. Which frame of words confisting of Rithmus or Metrum, Number or measure. are disposed into divers fashions, according to the humour of the Composer, and the set of the time: And these Rhythmi, as Aristotle sayth, are familiar amongst all Nations, and è naturali & sponte fusa compositione: And they fall as naturally already in our language, as euer Art can make them; being fuch as the Eare of it felfe doth marshall in their proper roomes, and they of themselves will not willingly bee put out of their ranke; and that in fuch a verse as best comports with the nature of our language. And for our Ryme (which is an excellencie added to this worke of measure, and a Harmonie farre happier than any proportion Antiquitie could euer shew vs) doeth adde more grace, and hath more of delight then euer bare numbers, howfoeuer they can bee forced to runne in our flow language, can possibly yeeld. Which whether it be deriu'd of Rhythmus or of Romance, which were fongs the Bards and Druydes about Rymes vsed, and thereof were called Remensi, as some Italians holde; or howfoeuer, it is likewife number and harmonie of wordes, confifting of an agreeing found in the last fyllables of feuerall verses, giving both to the eare an eccho of a delightfull report, and to the Memorie a deeper / impression, of what is deliuered therein. For as Greeke and Latine verse consists of the number and

quantitie of fyllables, fo doth the English verse of measure and accent. And though it doth not strictly observe long and short syllables, yet it most religiously respects the accent: and as the short and the long make number, fo the Accute and Graue accent yeeld harmonie: And harmonie is likewise number; so that the English verse then hath number, measure and harmonie in the best proportion of Musicke. Which being more certaine and more refounding, workes that effect of motion with as happy fuccesse as either the Greeke or Latine. And so naturall a melodie is it, and fo vniuerfall, as it feemes to be generally borne with all the Nations of the world, as an hereditarie eloquence proper to all mankinde. The vniuerfalitie argues the generall power of it: for if the Barbarian vse it, then it shewes that it swaies the affection of the Barbarian: if ciuill Nations practife it, it proues that it works vpon the hearts of ciuill Nations: if all, then that it hath a power in nature on all. Georgieuez de Turcarum moribus, hath an example of the Turkish Rymes iust of the measure of our verse of eleuen fyllables, in feminine Ryme: neuer begotten I am perswaded by any example in Europe, but borne no doubt in Scythia, and brought over Caucasus and Mount Taurus. The Sclauonian and Arabian tongues acquaint a great part of Asia and Affrique with it: the Moscouite, Polacke, Hungarian, Germane, Italian, French, and Spaniard, vse no other harmonie of words. The Irish, Briton, Scot, Dane, Saxon, / English, and all the Inhabiters of this Iland, either haue hither brought, or heere found the fame in vse. And such a force hath it in nature, or fo made by nature, as the Latin

numbers notwithstanding their excellency, seemed not fufficient to fatisfie the eare of the world thereunto accustomed, without this Harmonicall cadence: which make the most learned of all Nations labour with exceeding trauell to bring those numbers likewise vnto it: which many did with that happinesse, as neither the puritie of tongue, nor their materiall contemplations are thereby any way difgraced, but rather deferue to be reuerenced of all gratefull posteritie, with the due regard of their worth. And for Schola Salerna, and those Carmina Prouerbialia, Who findes not therein more precepts for vfe, concerning diet, health and conuerfation, than Cato, Theognes, or all the Greekes and Latines can shew vs in that kinde of teaching? and that in fo few words, both for delight to the eare, and the hold of memory, as they are to be embraced of all modest Readers, that study to know, and not to depraue.

Me thinks it is a strange impersection, that men should thus ouer-runne the estimation of good things with so violent a censure, as though it must please none els, because it likes not them. Whereas Oportet arbitratores esse non contradictores eos qui verum indicaturi funt, saith Arist., though he could not observe it himselse. And milde Charitie telles ys:

Offendor maculis quas aut incuria fudit,
Aut humana parum cauet natura.

For all men / haue their errours, and we must take the best of their powers, and leave the rest as not apperteining vnto vs.

Ill customes are to be left. I grant it: but I see not how that can be taken for an ill custome, which Nature hath thus ratified, all nations received, time fo long confirmed, the effects fuch as it performes those offices of motion for which it is imployed; delighting the eare, stirring the heart, and fatisfying the judgement in fuch fort as I doubt whether euer fingle numbers will doe in our Climate, if they shew no more worke of woonder than yet we fee. And if euer they prooue to become any thing, it must be by the approbation of many ages that must give them their strength for any operation, as before the world will feele where the pulse, life and enargie lies, which now were fure where to haue in our Rymes, whose knowen frame hath those due stayes for the minde, those encounters of touch, as makes the motion certaine, though the varietie be infinite. Nor will the generall fort, for whom we write (the wife being aboue books) tafte these laboured measures but as an orderly prose when we have all For this kind acquaintance and continuall familiaritie euer had betweene our eare and this cadence, is growen to fo intimate a friendship, as it will now hardly euer be brought to miffe it. For be the verfe neuer fo good, neuer fo full, it feemes not to fatisfie nor breed that delight, as when it is met and combined with a like founding accent: which feemes as the iointure without which it hangs loofe, and cannot fubfift, but runnes wildely on, like a tedious fancie / without a close. Suffer then the world to enjoy that which it knowes, and what it likes: feeing that whatfoeuer forme of words doth mooue, delight and fway the affections of men, in what Scythian fort foeuer it be

disposed or vttered, that is true number, measure, eloquence, and the perfection of speech: which I sayd, hath as many shapes as there be tongues or nations in the world, nor can with all the tyrannicall Rules of idle Rhetorique be gouerned otherwise then custome and present observation will allow. And being now the trim and fashion of the times, to sute a man otherwife, can not but give a touch of fingularitie: for when he hath all done, hee hath but found other clothes to the fame bodie, and peraduenture not fo fitting as the former. But could our Aduersary heereby set vp the Musicke of our times to a higher note of judgement and discretion, or could these new lawes of wordes better our impersections, it were a happy attempt; but when heereby we shall but as it were change person, and put off those fetters to receive others, what have we gained? as good stile to vse Ryme and as little Reason, as neither Ryme nor Reason: for no doubt, as idle wits will write in that kinde, as doe now in this: imitation will after, though it breake her necke. Scribinus indocti doctique poemata passim. And this multitude of idle Writers can be no difgrace to the good: for the same fortune, in one proportion or other, is proper in a like feason, to all States in their turn. And the same vnmeasurable confluence of Scriblers happened, when measures were most in vse among the Romans, as wee finde / by this reprehension,

Mutauit mentem populis leuit, & calet vno Scribendi studio, pueri, patresque seueri, Fronde comas vincti cænāt, & carmina dictant.

So that their plentie feemes to have bred the fame

waste and contempt as ours doth now, though it had not power to disvalue what was woorthie of posteritie, nor keepe backe the reputation of excellencies, destined to continue for many ages. For feeing it is matter that fatisfies the judiciall, appeare it in what habit it will, all these pretended proportions of words, howsoeuer placed, can be but words, and peraduenture ferue but to embroile our vnderstanding; whilest seeking to please our eare, we enthrall our iudgement; to delight an exterior fense, we smooth vp a weake confused sense, affecting found to be vnfound, and all to fecure Seruum pecus, onely to imitate the Greekes and Latines, whose felicitie, in this kinde, might be fomething to themfelues, to whom their owne idioma was naturall, but to vs it can yeeld no other commoditie, then a found. admire them not for their fmooth-gliding words, nor their measures, but for their inuentions: which treasure. if it were to be found in Welsh and Irish, wee should holde those languages in the same estimation, and they may thanke their fword that made their tongues fo famous and vniuerfall as they are. For to fay truth, their verse is many times but a confused deliuerer of their excellent conceits, whose fcattred limbs we are fain to looke out and ioyne together, to discerne the image of what they represent to vs. And even the Latines, who professe not to be so licencious as the / Greeks, flew vs many times examples but of strange crueltie, in torturing and difmembring of words in the middest, or disiovning such as naturally should be maried and march together, by fetting them as farre a funder as they can possibly stand, that sometimes, vnlesse the kinde Reader out of his owne good nature.

will stay them vp by their measure, they will sall downe into slat prose, and sometimes are no other indeed in their naturall sound: And then againe, when you finde them disobedient to their owne lawes, you must hold it to be licentia poetica, and so dispensable. The striuing to shew their changeable measures in the varietie of their Odes, have been verie painfull no doubt vnto them, and forced them thus to disturbe the quiet streame of their words, which by a naturall succession otherwise desire to follow in their due course.

But fuch affliction doth labourfome curiofitie still lay vpon our best delights (which euer must be made strange and variable) as if Art were ordained to afflict Nature, and that we could not goe but in setters. Euery science, euery profession, must be so wrapt vp in vnnecessary intrications, as if it were not to fashion but to consound the vnderstanding, which makes me much to distrust man, and seare that our presumption goes beyond our abilitie, and our curiositie is more then our iudgement: labouring euer to seeme to be more then we are, or laying greater burdens vpon our mindes then they are well able to beare, because we would not appeare like other men.

And indeed I haue wished there was not that / multiplicitie of Rymes as is vsed by many in Sonets, which yet we see in some so happily to succeed, and hath beene so farre from hindering their inuentions, as it hath begot conceit beyond expectation, and comparable to the best inuentions of the world: for sure in an eminent spirit, whom Nature hath sitted for that mysterie, Ryme is no impediment to his conceit, but rather gives him wings to mount, and carries him not

out of his courfe, but as it were beyond his power to a far happier flight. All excellencies being folde vs at the hard price of labour, it followes, where we bestow most thereof, we buy the best successe: and Ryme being farre more laborious than loofe measures (whatfoeuer is objected) must needs, meeting with wit and industrie, breed greater and worthier effects in our language. So that if our labours have wrought out a manumission from bondage, and that we goe at libertie, notwithstanding these ties, we are no longer the slaues of Ryme, but we make it a most excellent instrument to ferue vs. Nor is this certaine limit observed in Sonnets, any tyrannicall bounding of the conceit, but rather a reducing it in girum, and a just forme, neither too long for the shortest project, nor too short for the longest, being but onely imployed for a present passion. For the bodie of our imagination, being as an vnformed Chaos without fashion, without day, if by the divine power of the Spirit it be wrought into an Orbe of order and forme, is it not more pleasing to Nature. that desires a certainty, and comports not with that which is infinite, to have these clozes, rather then not to know where to end, or / how farre to goe, especially feeing our passions are often without measure? And we finde the best of the Latines many times, either not concluding, or els otherwife in the end then they began. Besides, is it not most delightfull to see much excellentlie ordered in a fmall roome, or little gallantly disposed and made to fill vp a space of like capacitie, in fuch fort, that the one would not appeare fo beautifull in a larger circuit, nor the other doe well in a leffe: which often we finde to be fo, according to

the powers of nature, in the workman. And these limited proportions, and rests of stanzes, consisting of six, seuen, or eight lines, are of that happinesse, both for the disposition of the matter, the apt planting the sentence where it may best stand to hit the certein close of delight, with the full bodie of a just period well carried, is such, as neither the Greeks or Latines euer attained vnto: for their boundlesse running on often so consounds the Reader, that having once lost himselse, must either give off vnsatissied, or vncertainly cast backe to retriue the escaped sense, and to sinde way againe into this matter.

Me thinks we should not so soone yeeld our consents captiue to the authoritie of Antiquitie, vnlesse we saw more reason: all our vnderstandings are not to be built by the square of Greece and Italie. We are the children of nature as well as they, we are not fo placed out of the way of iudgement, but that the same Sunne of Discretion shineth vpon vs; we have our portion of the fame vertues as well as of the fame vices, Et Catilinam Quocunque in populo videas quocunque sub axe. Time and the turne / of things bring about these faculties according to the prefent estimation: and Res temporibus non tempora rebus servire oportet. So that we must neuer rebell against vse: Quem penes arbitrium est, & vis & norma loquendi. It is not the observing of Trochaicques nor their Iambicques, that will make our writings ought the wifer: All their Poesie, all their Philosophie is nothing, vnlesse wee bring the difcerning light of conceit with vs to applie it to vse. It is not books but only that great booke of the world, and the all-ouerfpreading grace of heauen that makes

men truely iudiciall. Nor can it but touch of arrogant ignorance, to holde this or that Nation Barbarous, thefe or those times groffe, confidering how this manifolde creature man, wherefoeuer hee stand in the World, hath alwayes fome difposition of woorth, entertaines the order of focietie, affects that which is most in vse, and is eminent in fome one thing or other, that fits his humour and the times. The Grecians held all other nations barbarous but themselues, yet Pyrrhus when he faw the well ordered marching of the Romans, which made them fee their prefumptuous errour, could fay it was no barbarous maner of proceeding. The Gothes, Vandales, and Longobards, whose comming downe like an inundation, ouerwhelmed, as they fay, all the glorie of learning in Europe, have yet left vs stil their Lawes and Customes, as the originals of most of the prouinciall Constitutions of Christendome, which being well confidered with their other courses of gouernment, may ferue to cleere them from this imputation of ignorance. And though the / vanquished neuer speake well of the Conquerour, yet even thorow the vnfound couerings of maledictions appeare those monuments of truth, as argue well their worth, and prooues them not without iudgement, though without Greeke and Latine.

Will not experience confute vs, if we should say the State of *China*, which neuer heard of Anapæstiques, Trochies, and Tribracques, were grosse, barbarous, and vnciuil? And is it not a most apparent ignorance, both of the succession of learning in *Europe*, and the generall course of things, to say, that all lay pitifully deformed in those lacke-learning times from the declining of the Romane Empire till the light of the Latine tongue

was revived by Rewcline, Erasmus, and Moore? when for three hundred veeres before them, about the comming downe of Tamerlaine into Europe, Franciscus Petrarcha (who then no doubt likewife found whom to imitate) shewed all the best notions of learning, in that degree of excellencie, both in Latine, Profe and Verse, and in the vulgar Italian, as all the wits of posteritie haue not yet much ouer-matched him in all kindes to this day: his great Volumes written in Morall Philosophie, shew his infinite reading, and most happy power of disposition: his twelue Æglogues, his Africa containing nine bookes of the last Punicke war, with his three bookes of Epiftles in Latine verse, shew all the transformations of wit and invention, that a spirit naturally borne to the inheritance of Poetrie and iudiciall knowledge could expresse: all which notwithstanding wrought him not that glory and fame with his owne Nation, as did his / Poems in Italian, which they esteeme aboue all whatfoeuer wit could have invented in any other forme than wherein it is: which questionlesse they wil not change with the best measures Greekes or Latines can shew them, howfoeuer our Aduerfary imagines.

Nor could this very fame innouation in verse, begun amongst them by *C. Tolomæi*, but die in the attempt, and was buried assoone as it came borne, neglected as a prodigious and vnnaturall issue amongst them: nor could it neuer induce *Tasso*, the woonder of Italie, to write that admirable Poem of *Ierusalem*, comparable to the best of the Ancients, in any other forme then the accustomed verse.

And with *Petrarch* lived his fcholar *Boccacius*, and neere about the fame time *Iohannis Rauenenfis*, and

from these, tanquam exequo Troiano, seemes to have issued all those famous Italian Writers, Leonardus, Aretinus, Laurentius Valla, Poggius, Blondus, and many others. Then Emmanuel Chrysolaras, a Constantinopolitan gentleman, renowned for his learning and vertue, being imployed by Iohn Paleologus Emperour of the East, to implore the aide of Christian Princes, for the succouring of perishing Greece: and vnderstanding in the meane time, how Baiazeth was taken prisoner by Tamerlane, and his countrey freed from danger, stayed still at Venice, and there taught the Greeke tongue, discontinued before in these parts the space of seuen hundred yeeres.

Him followed Bessarion, George Trapezantius, Theodorus Gaza, and others, transporting Philosophy beaten by the Turke out of Greece into / Christendome. Heereupon came that mightie confluence of Learning in these parts, which returning as it were per post-liminium, and here meeting them with the new invented stampe of Printing, spread it selfe indeed in a more vniuerfall fort then the world ever heretofore had it.

When Pomponius Lætus, Æneas Syluius, Angelus Politianus, Hermolaus Barbarus, Iohannes Picus de mirandula, the miracle and Phœnix of the world, adorned Italie, and wakened other Nations likewise with this desire of glory, long before it brought forth Rewclen, Erasmus, and Moore, worthy men, I confesse, and the last a great ornament to this land, and a Rymer.

And yet long before all these, and likewise with these, was not our Nation behinde in her portion of spirit and worthinesse, but concurrent with the best of all this lettered world: witnesse venerable Bede, that

flourished about a thousand yeeres since: Aldelmus Durotelmus, that lived in the yeere 739, of whom we finde this commendation registred: omnium Poetarum sui temporis facilè primus, tantæ eloquentiæ, maiestatis & eruditionis homo fuit, vt nunquam satis admirari possim vnde illi in tam barbara ac rudi ætate facundia accreverit, vsque adeo omnibus numeris tersa, elegans & rotunda, versus edidit cum antiquitate de palma contendentes. Witnesse Iosephus Deuonius, who wrote de bello Troiano in so excellent maner, and so neere resembling Antiquitie, as printing his worke beyond the seas, they have ascribed it to Cornelius Nepos, one of the Ancients.

What should I name Walterus Mape, Gulielmus Nigellus, Geruasius Tilburiensis, Bracton, Bacon, Ockham, and an infinite Catalogue of excellent men, most of them liuing about soure hundred yeeres since, and haue left behinde them monuments of most prosound iudgement and learning in all Sciences. So that it is but the clouds gathered about our own iudgement that makes vs think all other ages wrapt vp in mists, and the great distance betwixt vs, that causes vs to imagine men so farre off to be so little in respect of our selves.

Wee must not looke vpon the immense course of times past, as men ouerlooke spacious and wide countreys, from off high mountaines, and are neuer the neere to iudge of the true nature of the soile, or the particular sight and sace of those territories they see. Nor must we thinke, viewing the superficial sigure of a region in a Map, that we know straight the sashion and place as it is; or reading an Historie (which is

but a Map of men) and doth no otherwise acquaint vs with the true substance of circumstances, then a superficial Card doth the Sea-man with a Coast neuer feene (which alwayes proues other to the eye then the imagination forecasts it) that presently we know all the world, and can distinctly judge of times, men and maners, just as they were.

When the best measure of man is to be taken by his owne foot, bearing euer the neerest proportion to himselfe, and is neuer so farre different and vnequall in his powers, that hee hath all in perfection at one time, and nothing at another.

The distribution of gifts are vniuerfall, and all feafons have them in fome fort. Wee must not thinke, but that there were Scipios, Cafars, Catos, / and Pompeys, borne elswhere than at Rome: the rest of the world hath euer had them in the same degree of Nature, though not of State. And it is our weaknesse that makes vs mistake or misconceiue in these deliniations of men the true figure of their woorth. And our passion and beleefe is so apt to leade vs beyond trueth, that vnlesse we trie them by the just compasse of humanitie, and as they were men, we shal cast their figures in the aire, when we should make their models vpon earth. It is not the contexture of words, but the effects of action that gives glorie to the times: wee finde they had Mercurium in pectore, though not in lingua; and in all ages, though they were not Ciceronians, they knew the Arte of men, which onely is Ars Artium, the great gift of heaven, and the chiefe grace and glory on earth; they had the learning of gouernment, and ordering their State; eloquence enough

to shew their iudgements; and it seemeth the best times followed Lycurgus counsell: Literas ad vsum saltem discebant, reliqua omnis disciplina erat, vt pulchre pararent vt labores preferrent, &c. Had not vnlearned Rome layd the better foundation, and built the stronger frame of an admirable State, eloquent Rome had confounded it vtterly, which wee faw ranne the way of all confusion, the plaine course of dissolution in her greatest skill: and though she had not power to vndo herselfe, yet wrought she so, that she cast herselfe quite away from the glory of a Common-wealth, and fell vpon the forme of State thee euer most feared and abhorred of all other: and then fcarfe was there feene any fhadow of policie vnder / her first Emperours, but the most horrible and grosse confusion that could be conceiued; notwithstanding it still endured, preseruing not onely a Monarchie, locked vp in her owne limits, but therewithall held vnder her obedience fo many Nations, fo farre diffant, fo ill affected, fo diforderly commanded, and vniustly conquered, as it is not to be attributed to any other fate but to the first frame of that Commonwealth; which was so strongly ioynted, and with fuch infinite combinations interlinct as one naile or other euer held vp the maiesty thereof.

There is but one learning, which omnes gentes habent fcriptum in cordibus fuis, one and the selfe-same spirit that worketh in all. We have but one bodie of Iustice, one bodie of Wisdome thorowout the whole world; which is but apparelled according to the sashion of euery Nation.

Eloquence and gay wordes are not of the substance of wit: it is but the garnish of a nice time, the

ornaments that doe but decke the house of a State, and imitatur publicos mores: Hunger is as well satisfied with meat served on pewter as silver. Discretion is the best measure, the rightest foot, in what pase soever it run. Erasmus, Reweline, and Moore, brought no more wisdome into the world with all their new revived words then we finde was before; it bred not a prosounder Divine then S. Thomas, a greater Lawyer then Bartolus, a more accute Logician then Scotus: nor are the effects of all this great amasse of eloquence, so admirable or of that consequence, but that impexa illa antiquitas can yet compare with it.

Let / vs goe no further, but looke vpon the woonderfull Architecture of the State of England, and fee whether they were deformed times that could give it fuch a forme: where there is no one the least pillar of maiestie, but was fet with most profound iudgement, and borne vp with the iust conueniencie of Prince and people; no Court of iuftice, but layd by the rule and square of Nature, and the best of the best Commonwealths that euer were in the world: fo strong and substantiall, as it hath flood against all the stormes of factions, both of beleefe and ambition, which fo powerfully beat vpon it, and all the tempestuous alterations of humorous times whatfoeuer: being continually in all ages furnisht with spirits fit to maintaine the maiestie of her owne greatnesse, and to match in an equal concurrencie all other kingdomes round about her, with whom it had to encounter.

But this innouation, like a Viper, must euer make way into the worlds opinion, thorow the bowels of her owne breeding, and is alwayes borne with reproach in her mouth; the difgracing others is the best grace it can put on, to win reputation of wit; and yet it is neuer fo wife as it would feeme, nor doeth the world euer get fo much by it as it imagineth; which being fo often deceiued, and feeing it neuer performes fo much as it promises, wee think men should neuer give more credit vnto it: for, let vs change neuer fo often, we can not change man; our imperfections must still run on with vs: and therefore the wifer Nations haue taught men alwayes to vse, Moribus legibusque presentibus etiamsi deteriores sint. The / Lacedæmonians, when a Musician thinking to win himselfe credit by his new inuention, and be before his fellowes, had added one ftring more to his Crowd, brake his fiddle, and banished him the Citie, holding the Innouator, though in the least things, dangerous to a publicke focietie. It is but a fantasticke giddinesse to forsake the way of other men, especially where it lies tolerable: Vbi nunc est Respublica, ibi simus potius quam dum illum veterem sequimur, simus in nulla.

But shall wee not tend to perfection? Yes; and that euer best by going on in the course we are in, where we have advantage, being so farre onward, of him that is but now setting foorth. For wee shall never proceed, if we be euer beginning, nor arrive at any certaine port, sailing with all windes that blow: Non convalescit planta quæ sæpius transfertur, and therefore let vs holde on in the course we have vndertaken, and not still be wandring. Perfection is not the portion of man; and if it were, why may wee not as well get to it this way as another, and suspect those great vndertakers, lest they have conspired with enuie to betray

our proceedings, and put vs by the honour of our attempts, with casting vs backe vpon another course, of purpose to ouerthrow the whole action of glory when we lay the fairest for it, and were so neere our hopes? I thanke God that I am none of these great Scholars, if thus their high knowledges doe but give them more eyes to looke out into vncertaintie and consussion, accounting my selfe rather beholding to mine ignorance, that hath set mee in so lowe an vnderroome of conceit with other men, and hath given me as much distrust, as it hath done hope, daring not adventure to goe alone, but plodding on the plaine tract I sinde beaten by Custome and the Time, contenting me with what I see in vse.

And furely me thinks these great wits should rather feeke to adorne, than to difgrace the prefent, bring fomething to it, without taking from it what it hath. But it is euer the misfortune of Learning to be wounded by her owne hand. Stimulos dat emula virtus, and when there is not abilitie to match what is, malice will finde out engins, either to difgrace or ruine it, with a peruerse encounter of some new impression; and, which is the greatest miserie, it must ever proceed from the powers of the best reputation, as if the greatest spirits were ordained to indanger the world, as the groffe are to dishonor it; and that we were to expect ab optimis periculum, à pessimis dedecus publicum. Emulation, the ftrongest pulse that beats in high mindes is oftentimes a winde, but of the worst effect: for whilest the soule comes disappointed of the object it wrought on; it prefently forges another, and euen couzins it felfe, and crosses all the world, rather then it will stay to be vnder

her defires, falling out with all it hath, to flatter and make faire that which it would haue.

So that it is the ill fuccesse of our longings that with Xerxes makes vs to whip the sea, and fend a cartell of defiance to mount Athos: and the fault layed vpon others weaknesse, is but a presumptuous opinion of our owne strength, who must not seeme to be mastered. But had our Aduersarie taught vs by his owne procee / dings, this way of perfection, and therein fram'd vs a Poeme of that excellencie, as should have put downe all, and been the master-peece of these times, wee should all haue admired him: but to depraue the present forme of writing, and to bring vs nothing but a few loose and vncharitable Epigrammes, and vet would make vs beleeue those numbers were come to raise the glorie of our language, giueth vs cause to fuspect the performance, and to examine whether this new Art constat sibi, or, aliquid sit dictum quod non st dictum priùs.

First we must heere imitate the Greeks and Latines, and yet we are heere shewed to disobey them even in their owne numbers and quantities; taught to produce what they make short, and make short what they produce; made believe to be shewed measures in that forme we have not seene, and in such matter; tolde that heere is the perfect Arte of versifying, which in conclusion is yet confessed to be unperfect, as if our adversarie to be opposite to vs, were become unfaithfull to him selse, and seeking to leade vs out of the way of reputation, hath adventured to intricate and consound him in his owne courses; running upon most uneven grounds, with imperfect rules, weake proofs, and un-

lawful lawes; whereunto the world, I am perswaded, is not fo vnreasonable as to subscribe, considering the vniust authoritie of the Law-giuer: for who hath constituted him to be the Radamanthus, thus to torture fyllables, and adjudge them their perpetuall doome, fetting his Theta or marke of condemnation vpon them, to endure / the appointed fentence of his crueltie, as he shall dispose? as though there were that disobedience in our words, as they would not be ruled, or stand in order, without fo many intricate lawes; which would argue a great peruerfenesse amongst them, according to that, in pessima republica plurimæ leges, or, that they were fo farre gone from the quiet freedome of Nature,) that they must thus be broght backe againe by force. And now in what case were this poore state of words, if in like fort another tyrant the next yeere should arife and abrogate these lawes, and ordaine others cleane contrary, according to his humor, and fay that they were only right, the others vniust? What disturbance were there heere? to whom should we obey? Were it not far better to holde vs fast to our olde custome, then to stand thus distracted with vncertaine lawes, wherein right shall have as many faces as it pleases Passion to make it; that wheresoeuer mens affections fland, it shall still looke that way? What trifles doth our vnconstant curiofitie call vp to contend for? What colours are there layd vpon indifferent things to make them feeme other than they are? as if it were but onely to entertaine contestation amongst men, who standing according to the prospective of their owne humour. feeme to fee the felfe fame things to appeare otherwife to them than either they do to others, or are indeed in

them selues, being but all one in nature. For what adoe haue we heere? what strange precepts of Arte about the framing of an Iambique verse in our language? which when all is done, reaches not by a foot, but falleth out to / be the plaine ancient verse, consisting of ten syllables or fiue feet, which hath euer beene vsed amongst vs time out of minde. And for all this cunning and counterfet name can or will be any other in nature then it hath beene euer heretofore; and this new Demeter is but the halfe of this verse divided in two, and no other than the Cæfura or breathing place in the middest thereof, and therefore it had been as good to haue put two lines in one, but only to make them feeme divers. Nay it had been much better for the true English reading and pronouncing thereof, without violating the accent, which now our adversarie hath heerin most vnkindly done: for, being, as wee are to found it, according to our English march, we must make a reft, and raife the last syllable, which falles out very vnnaturall in Defolate, Funerall, Elizabeth, Prodigall, and in all the rest saving the Monosyllable, Then followes the English Trochaicke, which is sayd to be a simple verse, and so indeed it is, being without Ryme; having heere no other grace then that in found it runnes like the knowen measure of our former ancient Verse, ending (as we terme it according to the French) in a feminine foot, fauing that it is shorter by one fyllable at the beginning, which is not much miffed, by reason it falles full at the last.

Next comes the *Elegiacke*, being the fourth kinde, and that likewife is no other then our accustomed measure of fiue feet: if there be any difference, it must

be made in the reading, and therin we must stand bound to ftay where often wee would not, and fometimes either breake the accent, or the due course of the word. / And now for the other foure kindes of numbers, which are to be imploied for Odes, they are either of the same measure, or such as have ever beene familiarly vfed amongst vs. So that of all these eight seuerall kinds of new promifed numbers, you fee what wee haue. Only what was our owne before, and the fame but apparelled in forreigne Titles; which had they come in their kinde and naturall attire of Ryme, wee should neuer haue suspected that they had affected to be other, or fought to degenerate into strange maners, which now wee fee was the caufe why they were turned out of their proper habit, and brought in as Aliens, only to induce men to admire them as farre-commers. But fee the power of nature; it is not all the artificiall couerings of wit that can hide their native and originall condition, which breaks out thorow the strongest bands of affectation, and will be it felfe, do Singularity what it can. And as for those imagined quantities of fyllables, which have beene euer held free and indifferent in our language, who can inforce vs to take knowledge of them, being in nullius verba iurati, and owing fealtie to no forreigne invention? especially in such a case where there is no necessitie in nature, or that it imports either the matter or forme, whether it be fo, or otherwise. But every Versisier that well observes his worke, findes in our language, without all these vnnecessary precepts, what numbers best fit the nature of her Idiom, and the proper places destined to such accents as she will not let in to any other roomes then in those for which they

were borne. As for example, you can not make this fall into the / right found of a verse—

None thinks reward rendred worthy his worth,

vnleffe you thus misplace the accent vpon Rèndred and Worthy, contrary to the nature of these wordes: which sheweth that two seminine numbers (or Trochees, is so you will call them) will not succeed in the third and sourth place of the verse. And so likewise in this case,

Though, death doth confume, yet vertue preserues,

it will not be a verse, though it hath the iust syllables, without the same number in the second, and the altering of the sourth place in this sort:

Though death doth ruine, vertue yet preserues.

Againe, who knowes not that we can not kindly answer a feminine number with a masculine Ryme, or (if you will so terme it) a Trochei with a Sponde, as Weaknesse with Confesse, Nature and Indure, only for that thereby wee shall wrong the accent, the chiefe Lord and graue Gouernour of Numbers. Also you can not in a verse of source feet place a Trochei in the first, without the like offence, as, Yeerely out of his watry Cell: for so you shall sound it Yeereliè, which is vnnaturall. And other such like observations vsually occurre, which Nature and a judicial eare of themselves teach vs readily to avoid.

But now for whom hath our Aduersary taken all this paines? For the learned, or for the ignorant, or for himselfe, to shew his owne skill? If for the learned, it was to no purpose, for every Grammarian in this

land hath learned his Profodia, and already knowes all this Art of numbers: if for the ignorant, it was vain: for if they become Verfifiers, wee are like to haue / leane numbers, instead of fat Ryme: and if Tullie would have his Oratour skill'd in all the knowledges appertaining to God and man, what should they haue, who would be a degree aboue Oratours? Why then it was to shew his owne skill, and what himselfe had observed: fo he might well have done, without doing wrong to the honor of the dead, wrong to the fame of the liuing, and wrong to England, in feeking to lay reproch vpon her natiue ornaments, and to turne the faire streame and full course of her accents into the shallow current of a loose vncerteintie, cleane out of the way of her knowen delight. And I had thoght it could neuer have proceeded from the pen of a Scholar (who fees no profession free from the impure mouth of the fcorner) to fay the reproch of others idle tongues is the curse of Nature vpon vs, when it is rather her curse vpon him, that knowes not how to vse his toong. What, doth he thinke himselfe is now gotten fo farre out of the way of contempt, that his numbers are gone beyond the reach of obloquie, and that how friuolous or idle foeuer they shall runne, they shall be protected from difgrace? as though that light Rymes and light numbers did not weigh all alike in the graue opinion of the wife; and that it is not Ryme, but our idle Arguments that hath brought downe to so base a reckoning the price and estimation of writing in this kind; when the few good things of this age, by comming together in one throng and presse with the , many bad, are not difcerned from them but ouerlooked with them, and all taken to be alike. But when after-times shall make a quest of Inquirie, / to examine the best of this Age, peraduenture there will be found in the now contemned Records of Ryme, matter not vnfitting the grauest Diuine and seuerest Lawyer in this Kingdome. But these things must have the date of Antiquitie to make them reuerend and authenticall: for euer in the collation of Writers, men rather weigh their age then their merit, & legunt priscos cum reuerentia, quando coætaneos non possunt sine inuidia. Simpliciùs longè posita miramur. And let no Writer in Ryme be any way discouraged in his endeuour by this braue all-arme, but rather animated to bring vp all the best of their powers, and charge with the words all the strength of Nature and Industrie vpon contempt, that the shew of their reall forces may turne backe infolencie into her owne holde. For, be fure, that inouation neuer works any ouerthrow but vpon the aduantage of a carelesse idlenesse. And let this make vs looke the better to our feet, the better to our matter, better to our maners. Let the Aduersarie that thought to hurt vs, bring more profit and honor, by being against vs. than if he had stood still on our side. For that (next to the aire of heaven) the best reine, the ftrongest hand to make men keepe their way, is that which their enemy beares vpon them: and let this be the benefit we make by being oppugned, and the meanes to redeeme backe the good opinion vanitie and idlenesse have suffered to be won from vs; which, nothing but substance and matter can effect. For Scribendi rectè sapere est & principium & fons.

When we heare Musicke, we must be in our eare,

in the vtter-roome of fense, but when we entertaine iudgement, we retire into the cabinet / and innermost withdrawing chamber of the soule: And it is but as Musick for the eare,

Verba sequi fidibus modulanda Latinis, but it is a worke of power for the soule,

Numerósque modósque ediscere vitæ.

The most judicial and worthy spirits of this land are not fo delicate, or will owe fo much to their eare, as to rest vpon the outside of words, and be entertained with found; feeing that both Number, Measure, and Ryme, is but as the ground or feat, whereupon is raifed the worke that commends it, and which may be eafilie at the first found out by any shallow conceit: as we see some fantasticke to begin a fashion, which afterward grauitie it felfe is faine to put on, because it will not be out of the weare of other men, and Recti apud nos locum tenet error vbi publicus factus est. And power and strength that can plant it selfe any where, having built within this compasse, and rear'd it of fo high a respect, wee now embrace it as the fittest dwelling for our inuention, and haue thereon bestowed all the fubstance of our vnderstanding to furnish it as it is. And therefore heere I stand foorth, only to make good the place wee haue thus taken vp, and to defend the facred monuments erected therein, which containe the honour of the dead, the fame of the liuing, the glory of peace, and the best power of our speech, and wherein fo many honourable spirits haue facrificed to Memorie their dearest passions, shewing by what divine

influence they have beene mooued, and vnder what starres they lived.

But yet now notwithstanding all this which I have heere deliuered in the desence of Ryme, I / am not so farre in loue with mine owne mystery, or will seeme fo froward, as to be against the reformation and the better fettling these measures of ours: wherein there bee manie things I could wish were more certaine and better ordered, though my felfe dare not take vpon mee to be a Teacher therein, having fo much need to learne of others. And I must confesse, that to mine owne eare, those continuall cadences of couplets vfed in long and continued Poems, are verie tiresome and vnpleafing, by reason that stil me thinks thev run on, with a found of one nature, and a kinde of certainty which stuffes the delight rather than entertaines it. But yet notwithstanding, I must not of mine owne daintinesse condemne this kinde of writing, which peraduenture to another may feeme most delightfull: and many worthy compositions we see to haue passed with commendation in that kind. Besides, me thinks fometimes to beguile the eare with a running out and passing ouer the Ryme, as no bound to stay vs in the line where the violence of the matter will breake thorow, is rather gracefull then otherwise: wherein I finde my Homer-Lucan, as if hee gloried to feeme to have no bounds, albeit he were confined within his measures, to be in my conceit most happie: For so thereby, they who care not for Verse or Ryme may passe it ouer with taking notice thereof, and please themselues with a well-measured Prose. And I must confesse my Aduerfary hath wrought this much vpon mee, that I thinke

a Tragedie would indeed best comport with a blancke Verse, and dispense with Ryme, sauing in the Chorus, or where a sentence / shall require a couplet. And to auoid this ouer-glutting the eare with that alwayes certeine and full incounter of Ryme, I have assay in some of my Epistles to alter the vsuall place of meeting, and to set it surther off by one Verse, to trie how I could disuse mine owne eare, and to ease it of this continuall burden, which indeed seemes to surcharge it a little too much: but as yet I can not come to please my selfe therein, this alternate or crosse Ryme holding still the best place in my affection.

Besides, to me this change of number in a Poem of one nature fits not fo well, as to mixe vncertainly feminine Rymes with masculine; which euer since I was warned of that deformitie by my kinde friend and countrey-man M. Hugh Samford, I have alwayes fo auoided it, as there are not aboue two couplets in that kinde in all my Poem of the Ciuil warres: and I would willingly, if I could, have altered it in all the rest, holding feminine Rymes to be fittest for Ditties, and either to be fet for certaine, or els by themselues. But in these things, I say I dare not take vpon mee to teach that they ought to be fo, in respect my selfe holds them to be fo, or that I thinke it right; for indeed there is no right in these things that are continuallie in a wandring motion, caried with the violence of our vncertaine likings, being but onely the time that giues them their power. For if this right or trueth should be no other thing then that we make it, wee shall shape it into a thousand figures, seeing this excellent Painter, Man, can fo well lay the colours which

himselse grindes in his owne affections, as / that hee will make them ferue for any shadow and any counter-But the greatest hinderer to our proceedings, and the reformation of our errours, is this felf-loue. whereunto we Versifiers are euer noted to be especially fubiect; a difease of all other the most dangerous and incurable, being once feated in the spirits, for which there is no cure but only by a spirituall remedie. Multos puto, ad sapientiam potuisse peruenire, nifi putassent se peruenisse: and this opinion of our sufficiencie makes fo great a cracke in our judgement, as it will hardly euer hold any thing of woorth, Cæcus amor fui; and though it would seeme to see all without it, yet certainly it discernes but little within: for there is not the simplest Writer that will euer tell himselse he doth ill, but as if hee were the Parasite onely to footh his owne doings, perfwades him that his lines can not but please others, which so much delight himfelfe:

> Suffenus est quisq sibi—neq idem vnquam. Aeque est beatus, ac poema cùm scribit, Tam gaudet in se tamque se ipse miratur.

And the more to shew that he is so, wee shall see him euermore in all places, and to all persons repeating his owne compositions: and

Quem vero arripuit, tenet occiditq legendo.

Next to this deformitie stands our affectation, wherein we alwayes bewray our selues to be both vnkinde and vnnaturall to our owne natiue language, in disguising or forging strange or vnusuall words, as if it were to make our Verse seeme another kinde of speech out of the course of our vsuall practife, openly vpon a fingularitie; when owne accustomed phrase, set in the due place, would expresse vs more familiarly and to better delight then all this idle affectation of antiquitie or noueltie can euer do. And I can not but wonder at the strange presumption of some men, that dare so audaciously aduenture to introduce any whatsoeuer forren words, be they neuer fo strange; and of themfelues, as it were, without a Parliament, without any confent or allowance, stablish them as free denizens in our language. But this is but a character of that perpetuall revolution which wee fee in all things that neuer remaine the fame: and we must heerein be content to submit our selves to the law of time, which in few yeeres will make all that for which wee now contend, Nothing,

* *

FINIS.



III.

THE

COLLECTION

OF THE

HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

1612—1617-18.

The 'Collection of the History of England' is Daniel's chief work in Prose, and that which won for him name and fame.

As appears to bave been his custom alike in verse and prose, part 1st of this work, "to the end, of the reign of Stepben," was originally printed for private circulation: "London, Printed by Nicbolas Okes dwelling neere Holborne bridge 1612" (117 leaves); and, indeed, even after publication, and when the work was completed so far as it went, these words are oddly enough retained in the "Certaine Advertisements to the Reader":—

"This Peece of History, which beere I divulge not but impart prinately to such Worthy Persons as haue fauoured my indeuour. . . ,"

There was another (published) edition in 1613: "London, Printed for the Company of Stationers" (also in a small quarto).

These were dedicated in a lengthy Epistle "to the Right Honourable Sir Robert Carr, Viscount Rochester," who is also thus addressed in the opening of the History itself:—

"I intend by the helpe of God, and your furtherance my noble Lord Viscount Rochester to write" As this Epistle was displaced by another addressed to Queen Anne, wife of James Ist, I have deemed it expedient to give it before the other.

The History as it remained subsequently, "to the end of the reign of Eduard IIId," was published as a handsome thin folio in 1617-18—dedicated (ut supra) to the Queen. This was followed by posthumous folio reprints in 1621-1626-1634-1650, the last being designated in the title-page "the Fourth Edition Revised and by His last corrected Coppy Printed.' This could only apply to the edition of 1617-18, as Daniel died in 1619. But "revised and by his last corrected copy printed" was a mere booksellers' catch-penny device. A careful collation of all the texts reveals that in 1617-18 he simply reprinted the quarto of 1612-13, and so left it. second part was published in the folio of 1617-18, Mr. Sidney Lee being mistaken in recording a separate (4to) issue thereof. The retention of the phrasing noted above shows how little the Author concerned himself with either revision or correction, albeit it is to be remembered that he died in the following year. Having found the folio of 1626 the most accurately as well as handsomely printed, I have made it our 'copy,' albeit I repeat there are no differences between one and another beyond trifling and NOTE. 71

self-correcting misprints: e.g., in 1650, in the Epistle to the Queen, "my" is dropped inadvertently in this sentence: "as far as [my] ability would extend "—correct in 1618 and 1626 and the others; and again in the "Certaine Advertisements to the Readers" in 1650, "greedy of well doing," for "greedy of doing well." The only misprint corrected in 1650 that I have happed on is 'yeeld' for a dropped '1' in 1626. The promised Appendices of "Certaine Advertisements" never appeared.

For notices of after-editions 1706, 1719, and a curious tract on alleged corrupting "alterations in Mr. Daniel's History," and an estimate of the work, our II. Memorial-Introduction—Critical, prefixed to the present volume may be consulted. Our text is given in integrity throughout, even its odd spellings of words and names. On all those see Glossarial Index in Vol. V.

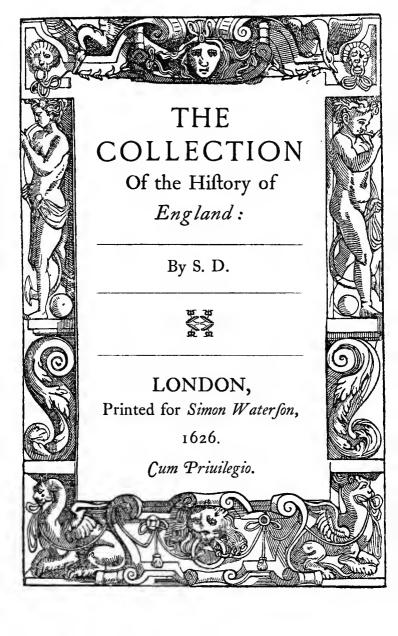
A. B. G.





Speciall Priuiledge, Licence and Authority, is granted by the Kings Maiesties Letters Patents, vnto the Author Samuel Daniel, one of the Groomes of the Queenes Maiesties most Honorable Priuy Chamber, for him, his Executors, Administrators, Assignes or Deputies, to Print, or cause to

bee Imprinted, and to sell assigne and dispose, to his, or their benefit, This Booke, intituled, The Collection of the History of England. Streightly forbidding any other to Imprint or cause to bee Imprinted, to Import, vtter or sell, or cause to be Imported, vttered, or sold, the sayd Booke or Bookes, or any part thereof, within any of his Majestyes Dominions, vpon payne of his Majesties high displeasure, and to forfeit Fiue pounds Lawfull English Mony for euery such Booke or Bookes, or any part thereof, printed Imported, vttered, or sold, contrary to the meaning of this Priuiledge, besides the Forfeiture of the sayd Booke, Bookes, &c. as more at large appeareth by his Maisties sayd Letters Patents, dated at Westminster, the 11. of March, in the 15 yeare of his Reigne of England and of Scotland the one and fiftieth.





I. EPISTLE-DEDICATORY.

TO THE RIGHT HO-NOVRABLE SIR ROBERT

CARR VISCOVNT ROCHE-

ster, Knight of the most Noble Order of the Garter, and one of his Maiesties most Honourable Priny Councell.



O give a reason of my worke, is in my part as well as to do it. And therefore my Noble Lord, why I vndertooke to write this History of England, I alledge, that having spent much time of my best vnderstanding, in this part of humane Learning, Historie, both in forraine countries where especially I

tooke those notions, as made most for the conduct of businesse in this kind, and also at home, where it hath bene in my fortune (besides conference with men of good experience) to have seene many of the best discourses, negotiations, instructions and relations of the generall affaires of the World: I resolved to make triall of my forces in the contexture of our owne Historie, which for that it lay dispersed in confused peeces, hath bene much desired

of many. And held to be some blemish to the honour of our Country to come behinde other Nations in this kind, when neither in magnificence of State, glory of action, or abilities of nature, we are any way inferior to them. Nor is there any Nation, whose Ancestors have done more worthy things, both at home and abroad; especially for matter of war. For since the Romans, no one people hath fought so many battailes prosperously. And therfore out of the tender remorse, to see these men much defrauded of their glory so deerely bought, and their affaires confusedly delivered, I was drawne (though the least able for such a worke) to make this adventure: which howsoever it prove, will yet shew the willingnesse I have to do my Countrey the best service I could; and perhaps, by my example induce others of better abilities, to vndergoe the same. In the meane time, to draw out a small substance of so huge a masse, as might have something of the vertue of the whole, could not be, but an extraction worthy the paines, seeing it concernes them most to know the generall affaires of England, who have least leasure to read them.

And the better to fit their vse, I have made choyce to deliver onely those affaires of action, that most concerne the government: dividing my worke into three Sections, according to the Periods of those Ages that brought forth the most remarkable Changes: And every Section into three Bookes. Whereof the first, briefly relates the various mutations of State, plantation, and supplantations of the inhabitants in the chiefest part of this Isle, before the comming of the Norman. The second booke containes the life and Raigne of William the first. The third, the succession of William the second, Henry the first, and Stephan. And this part, I have here done.

The second Section begins with Henry the second, the first of the royall family of Plantagenet, containes the lives of foureteene Princes of that Line, and takes up 339 yeares. A space of time that yeelds us a view of a wider extent of Dominion, by the accession of a third part of France to the Crowne of England: more matter of action, with a greater magnificence, and glory of

State then euer: intermixt with strange varieties and turnes of Fortune: the inflammation of three civill warres, besides popular insurrections: the deposing of foure kings, and five vsurpations: which, in the end, so rent the State, as all the glory of forraine greatnesse, which that line brought, expired with it selfe.

The third Section containes the succession of fine Soueraigne Princes of the Line of Tewdor, and the space of 129 yeares. A time not of that virilitie as the former, but more subtile, and let out into wider notions, and bolder discoveries of what lay hidden before. A time wherein began a greater improvement of the Soueraigntie, and more came to be effected by wit then the sword: Equall and iust incounters, of State, and State in forces, and of Prince, and Prince in sufficiencie. The opening of a new world, which strangely altered the manner of this, inhancing both the rate of all things, by the induction of infinite Treasure, & opened a wider way to corruption, whereby Princes got much without their swords: Protections, & Confederations to counterpoyse, & preuent over-growing powers, came to bee maintained with larger pensions. Leidger Ambassadors first imployed abroad for intelligences. Common Banks erected, to returne and furnish moneys for these businesses. Besides strange alterations in the State Ecclesiasticall: Religion brought forth to bee an Actor in the greatest Designes of Ambition and Faction. To conclude, a time stored with all varietie of accidents fit for example, and instruction. This is the scope of my designe.

And this I addresse to you, my Noble Lord, not onely as a testimonie of my gratitude for the honorable regard you have taken of mee: but also in respect you being now a publick person, and thereby ingaged in the State of England, as well as incorporated into the Body thereof, may here learne, by the observance of affaires past (for that, Reason | is strengthened by the successe of exaple) to iudge the righter of things present: and withall, that herein, you, seeing many precedents of such as have runne even and direct courses, like your owne (howsoever the successe was) never wanted glory, may therby be comforted to continue

this way of integrity, and of being a just servant both to the King and the Kingdome: nor can there be a better testimony to the world of your owne worth, then that you love and cherish the same, (wheresoever you finde it) in others.

And if by your hand it may come to the sight of his Royall Maiesty, whose abilities of nature are such, as whatsoever comes within his knowledge is presently under the dominion of his iudgement, I shall thinke it happy: and though in it selfe, it shall not be worthy his leasure, yet will it bee much to the glory of his Reigne, that in his daies there was a true History written: a liberty proper onely to Common-wealths, and neuer permitted to Kingdomes, but vnder good Princes. Vpon which liberty notwithstanding I will not vsurpe, but tread as tenderly on the graves of his magnificent Progenitors, as possibly I can: Knowing there may (in a kind) be Læsa Maiestas, euen against dead Princes. And as in reverence to the, I will deliver nothing but what is fit for the world to know, so through the whole worke I will make conscience that it shall know nothing but (as faithfully as I can gather it) Truth: protesting herein | to have no other passion, then the zeale thereof, nor to hold any stubborne opinion, but lyable to submission and better

information.

Your Lordships to command,

SAMVEL DANYEL.



II. EPISTLE-DEDICATORY.

TO THE MAIESTY OF ANNE OF DEN-

MARKE, QVEENE OF ENG-

land, Scotland, France and Ireland.



Veenes, the Mothers of our Kings, by whom is continued the Blessing of succession that preserues the Kingdome, having their parts running in the times wherin they liue, are likewise interessed in the Histories thereof, which contayne their memories and all that is left of them, when they have left to be

in this world. And therefore to you, great Queene of England (and the greater by your loue to the Nation, and the blessing you have brought foorth for the continuation of the future good thereof) doe I your humblest servant addresse this peece of our History; which, as it is a worke of mine, appertaynes of right to your Maiesty, being for the most part done vnder your Roofe, during my attendance vpon your Sacred Person;

and if euer it shall come to be an entire worke, and merit any acceptation in the world, it must remaine among the memorials of you, and your time, as brought foorth / vnder the splendor of your goodnesse. Howsoeuer, this which is done, shall yet shewe how desirous I haue beene to lay out my time and industry, as farre as my ability would extend, to doe your Maiesty and my Country seruice in this kind.

And though at high Altars, none but high Priests ought to sacrifize, yet vouchsafe mighty Queene, to accept this poore oblation from the hand of your Maiesties

| Humblest seruant | |
|------------------|--|
| Samuel Danyel. | |
| Certayne | |



Certaine Aduertisements to the Reader.



His Peece of our History, which heere I divulge not, but impart privately to such Worthy Persons as have favoured my indeauors herein, should long since have beene much more: And come abroad with Dedication, Preface, and all the Complements of a Booke, had my Health and Meanes

beene answerable to my desire: But beeing otherwise, I must intreate my Friends, to be content to be payde by peeces, as I may, and accept my willingnesse to yeelde as much as mine ability can performe. It is more then the Worke of one man (were he of neuer so strong Forces) to compose a passable Contexture of the whole History of England. For, though the inquisition of Antient times, written by others, be prepared, yet the Collection and Disposition I find most Laborious: And I know, quam sit magnum dare aliquid in manus hominum, Especially in this kind, wherein more is expected then hath beene deliuered before. Curiosity will not be content with Ordinaries. For mine owne part I am so greedy of doing well, as nothing suffices the appetite of my care heerein. I had rather be Maister of a small peece handsomely contriued, then of vaste roomes ill proportioned and vnfurnished; and I know many others are of my mind.

Now for what I have done, which is the greatest part of our History (and wherein, I dare anow, is more together of the maine, then hath beene yet contracted into one peece), I am to render an

VOL. IV.

Account whence I had my Furniture: Which if I have omitted to Charge my Margin withall, I would have the Reader to know, that in the Liues of William the First; William the Second, Henry the First, and Stephen; / I have especially followed William Malmsbury, Ingulphus, Roger Houveden, Huntingdon, with all such Collections, as have beene made out of Others for those times. In the Liues of Henry the Second, Richard the First, Iohn and Henry the Third: Giraldus Cambrensis, Rushanger, Mat Paris, Mat. Westminst. Nich. Triuet, Caxton, and others. In the Liues of Edward the First, Edward the Second and Third: Froissart and Walsingham, with such Collections as by Polydore Virgile, Fabian, Grafton, Hall, Holingshead, Stow and Speed, diligent and Famous Trauailors in the search of our History, have beene made and divulged to the world. For forraine businesses (especially with France, where we had most to doe) I have for Authors, Paulus AEmilius, Haillan, Tillet, and others, without whom we cannot truly understand our owne Affayres. And where otherwise I have had any supplies extraordinary, eyther out of Record or such Instruments of State, as I could procure, I have given a true account of them in the Margin. So that the Reader shall be sure to be payd with no counterfeit Coyne, but such as shal have the Stampe of Antiquity, the approbation of Testimony, and the allowance of Authority, so farre as I shall proceed herein.

And for that I would have this Breviary to passe with an vn-interrupted delivery of the especiall Affaires of the Kingdome (without imbroyling the memory of the Reader) I have in a body apart, vnder the Title of an Appendix, Collected all Treaties, Letters, Articles, Charters, Ordinances, Intertaynments, provisions of Armies, businesses of Commerce, with other passages of State appertayning to our History; which assoone as I have meanes to Print, shall, for the better satisfying of such Worthy persons, as may make vse of such Materials, accompany this Collection, and to this Appendix, I have made references in the Margin as occasion requires.

For the Worke it selfe, I can Challenge nothing therein but onely the sowing it together, and the observation of those necessary circumstances, and inferences which the History naturally ministers: Desirous to deliver things done, in as even and quiet an Order, as such an heape will permit, without quarrelling with the Beleese of Antiquity, depraving the Actions of other Nations to advance our owne, or keeping backe those Reasons of State they had, for what they did in those times: holding it fittest and best agreeing with Integrity (the chiefest duty of a Writer) to leave things to their owne Fame, and the Censure thereof to | the Reader, as being his part rather then mine, who am onely to recite things done, not to rule them.

Now for the errors herin committed, either by mine owne mistakings or the Printers over-sight, I must crave Pardon of course. It is a Fate Common to Bookes and Booke-men, and wee cannot auoyde it. For besides our owne faylings, we must heere take vp many things vpon other mens credits, which often comes imperfect to our hands: As the summes of Monies, numbers of Souldiers, Shippes, the slayne in Battaile, Computation of Times, differences of Names and Titles, &c. Wherein our Authors agree not. And it were to be wished that we had more assured notes of these particulars then we have, especially for summes of Monies (in regard it serves much for instruction) wherein I doubt many of our Collectors have bin but ill Accountants, reckoning Markes for Pounds, and Pounds for Markes. The Computation of Times is not of so great moment, figures are easily mistaken; the 10. of Iuly, and the 6. of August, with a yeare ouer or under, makes not a man the wiser in the businesse then done, which is onely that hee desires. But these things being but of the By, the vnderstanding Reader will not much care to set at them, and therefore I referre him to the Mayne of more important consideration. |



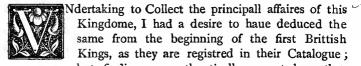
THE COLLECTION OF THE HISTORIE OF

 $\mathcal{E}\mathcal{N}GL\mathcal{A}\mathcal{N}D$: CONTAINING

BRIEFLY THE ESPECIALL AFFAIRES OF THE GOVERNMENT: COMPILED

> By SAMVEL DANIEL, one of the Groomes of the Queenes Maiesties most Honourable

> > Privie Chamber.



Kingdome, I had a desire to have deduced the same from the beginning of the first Brittish Kings, as they are registred in their Catalogue; but finding no authenticall warrant how they

came there, I did put off that desire with these considerations: That a lesser part of time, and better knowne (which was from William the first, surnamed the Bastard) was more then enough for my ability: and how it was but our curiosity to search further backe into times past then we might well discerne, and whereof, we could neyther have proofe, nor profit. How the beginnings of all people and States were as vncertaine, as the heads of great Riuers; and could not adde to our vertue, and peraduenture little to our reputation to know them. Considering, how commonly they rise from the springs of pouerty, pyracie, robbery and violence, howsoeuer fabulous Writers (to glorifie their nations) striue to abuse the credulity of after ages with heroycall, or miraculous beginnings. For States (as men) are euer best seene, when they are vp, and as they are, not as they were. Besides (it seemes) God in his Prouidence to checke our presumptuous inquisition, wraps vp all things in vncertainty, barres vs out from long antiquity, and bounds our searches within the compasse of a few ages, as if the same were sufficient, both for example and instruction to the gouernment of men. For had we the particular occurrents of all ages, and all nations, it might more stuffe, but not better our vnderstanding. shall finde still the same correspondencies to hold in the actions of men: Vertues and Vices the same, though rising and falling, according to the worth or weaknesse of Gouernors: the causes of the ruines, and mutations of States to be alike; and the trayne of affayres carried by precedent, in a course of Succession, vnder like colours./

But yet, for that the chaine of this collection hath a linke of dependency with those former times, we shall shew the passage of things the better: if we take but a superficiall view of that wide, and vncertainly-related state of this Land, since the candle of letters gaue vs some little light thereof. Which was, since the Romans made it a tributary Prouince to their Empire. For before, as it lay secluded out of the way, so it seemed out of the knowledge of the world. For Iulius Casar, being but on the other side in Gaul, could not attaine to any particular information of the state of Brittaine, by any meanes he could vse, but by certaine Merchants (of whom he got together as many as he could) who told him something of the coast-townes, but of the state, and condition of the

in dwellers, they could say nothing: either so incurious were they of further knowledg then what concerned their trade, or the people heere so wary to keepe their state reserved and vnknowne to strangers. And yet *Casar* gaue out, that they sub-ayded the *Gaules* against him, and made it the occasion of his quarrell, and invasion of the Land, whereof he onely subdued the South parts, and rather shewed it, then won it to the *Roman* Empire.

Of the forme of Gouernment among the Brittaines.—But now, what was the state, and forme of gouernment among the Brittaines, before this subjection. The first certaine notice we have (is also by the same Cæsar), who tells vs (Cæs. Comment. lib. 5) how they were divided into many severall states: nominates fower Princes of Kent by the title of Kings: how Casseuellaunus, by the Common Councell was elected, in this their publique danger, to have the principall administration of the State, with the businesse of warre: and afterward. how the Citties sent their hostages vnto him. Whereby wee perceiue it was no Monarchy, as it is reported to haue beene, but like to the Gaules, with whom it was then one in religion (and much alike in fashon and language) deuided into a multitude of petty regiments, without any entire rule or combination (Complures sunt apud eos dominationes, Strabo, lib. 4). As now, wee see all the west world (lately discouered) to bee, and generally all other countries are in their first, and naturall free nakednesse, before they come to bee taken in; either by some predominant power from abroad, or grow to head within themselves, of strength, and vnderstanding to ouer-maister, and dispose of all about them; introducing such formes of rule, as ambition, or their other necessities shall beget. And such was then the state of Brittaine, Gaule, Spaine, Germany, and all the west parts of Europe, before the Romans (ouer-growing first the people of Italy in like manner divided) did by strength, and cunning, vnlocke those liberties of theirs. And such as were then tearmed Kings, were but as their Generalls

in warre, without any other great flurisdiction, within those small limits they held. So that to tell vs of the state of a Monarchie in this Land before that time (as if alone vnlike, or more in State then all other nations) is to give entertainement to those narrow conceits, as apprehend not the progresses in the affaires of mankinde; and onely the invention of such, as take all their reason, from the example, and Idea of the present Customes they see in vse. For had there beene an absolute Monarch in these parts, which might have affronted the Romans with the power of a well-vnited State, it had beene impossible for them (hauing oftentimes much to do, euen with some poore Prince of a small territory) to have circumvented. or confounded (with all their stratagems, and injustice) the peace, and liberty of the world in such sort as they did. And though the Brittaines were then simple, and had not the firebrand of letters, yet seemed they more just, and honest, and brought forth on the stage of action men as magnanimous (and toucht with as true a sence of honour, and worthinesse) as themselues.

But having no firme combinements to chayne them together in their publique dangers, they lay loose to the advantage of the common enemy; working vpon the factions, and emulations, vsuall to such divisions, and were made the instruments of their owne subjection: for whilest every one defended them apart, the whole was overcome.

So that with what credit, the accompt of aboue a thousand yeares from *Brute* to *Casseuellaunus* (in a line of absolute Kings) can be cleared, I doe not see; and therefore will leaue it on the booke to such as will bee creditors, according to the substance of their vnderstanding. And yet, let me craue pardon, least being but to report, I might seeme / to contend, if I make this inquirie: how the memorie of those former times, came to be preserved and delivered to posteritie, if they had not the vse of letters in this Land (as it seemes by all probability they had not) before they were introduced by

the Romans; who (sure would have given vs notice thereof) had they found them here at their comming, and especially of schooles and the Greeke tongue, reported to have beene planted here for many ages before: but they tell vs of no such thing: they informe vs how the Druydes, who were the ministers of Religion and Iustice, the especiall men of knowledge) committed not their mysteries to writing, but delivered them by tradition, whereby the memorie of them after their suppression (first by Augustus, and after by Claudius) came wholly to perish with them. Which, had they had letters and bookes, could never by all the power and authoritie of the Roman State, beene so vtterly extinct, but that we should have heard something more of them.

Besides it is strange how the Greeke tongue, and the knowledge of Philosophie, should be brought hither so farre off, and so soone; seeing it was late (as Liuy saith) before it came into Italie, being so neere at hand. Moreouer, it is considerable, how it made that transmigration, whether by Sea or Land? By Sea, Hercules had set Pillars that shut vp the world many ages after, for passing that way. Land, Germany, and other Countries on that side, would haue taken some part in the passing; but Germany then, we finde had no letters at all; only Merseilies, a Colonie of the Greekes being in the midway, might be a gate, to let it into Gaule, and so hither: but they say the Merseillans vsed onely Greeke Characters at first, but for their private accompts and contracts in traffique, and no otherwise. So that it seemes then, the Brittaines received first letters (with their subjection) from the Romanes, and Agricola, Præfect of the Prouince vnder Domitian, caused them heere to be taught (as Cornelius Tacitus, his sonne in law), reports vpon this occasion. "Advice was taken, sayth he, that the people dispersed, rude and so apt to rebellion, should bee inured to ease and quiet by their pleasures: and therefore they exhorted privatly, and ayded them publikely to the building of Temples, Bources, Pallaces:

commending whom they found forward, and correcting the unwilling, so that the emulation of honor was for necessity: then they caused the principall mens sons to be taught the liberall Sciences, extolling their wits for learning, about the Gaules, in so much as they who lately scorned the Roman tong, now desired eloquence. Hereupon grew our habits in honor, the Gowne frequent, and by degrees, a generall collapsion into those softnings of vices, faire houses, bathes, and delicate banquets, and that, by the ignorant, was termed humanity, when it was a part of seruitude." 1 Thus farre he acquaints vs with the introduction. and cause of the Romane learning in this Land. Which (had it had the Greeke tong, so many hundred yeares before) would haue beene as forward in the liberall Sciences, as the Romanes and not needed this emollition by learning. Philosophy would haue prepared them to a sufferance of subjection, that they could not have beene so vniuersally rude, and barbarous as they are reported to have beene. So that I feare me, of all that lies beyond this time, we can have no other intelligence, but by tradition. Which how we may credit for so long past (when letters, for all the assurance they can make, breake faith with vs in the information of things euen present) let it be judged.

And now for the time since (which seemes to be all that amounts to our knowledge of the State of *Brittaine*), we finde it, during the Domination of the *Romans*, gouerned by their Præfects; and if they had Kings of the Brittish Nation, they were tributary, and had their whole authority depending on that Empire; which, as the same *Tacitus* saith, made it now

¹ Cic. in Ep. ad Atticum, vbi Belli Britannici exitum expectari scribis, nullius ex ea spem prædæ, nisi ex mancipijs, ait, ex quibus nullos puto te, literis, aut musicis eruditos expectare. Et lib. de Nat. Deorum, paris eos cum Scithis barbaries insimulat. Ingenio Gallorū partim similes sunt; partim simpliciores, & magis barbari, Strabo lib. 4. And it was after the subjection of Gaule that they intertayned Philosophers, and Phisitions for publique Readings, and became a Schoole for those parts as we may perceiue by Strabo libro 2.

their custome to haue Kings, the instruments of servitude: speaking of Cogodunus to whom Claudius gaue certain Cities in Brittaine, with title of King. For now after Casar had opened the passage, and made tributary so much as he subdued, the rest could not long hold out, against that allincompassing State of Rome: although during the time of their ciuill warres, and change of gouernment, from a Republique to a Monarchie, this Country lay neglected, the space of twenty yeares: yet, after Augustus had setled the soueraignty, and possest all the wide obedience of that Empire, the Princes and Citties of Brittaine (fearing to be enforced) came in of their own accord, with their gifts and tributes, and the rather; for that as yet, they had found no other weight of / subjection, then a tollerable tribute, which, it seemed, they were content to endure with the rest of their neighbours. But after Augustus time, when the corruptions of that State, had bred miserable inflamations, in all parts of the world, the Brittaines, what with their owne factions, and those of their Roman commanders, remained in an vncertaine obedience, till the time of Claudius the Emperour, who having much of the fume of glory, and little fire to raise it otherwhere: casts an especial eve on this Prouince, to make it the pompous matter of his triumph. And, to prepare the way, without aduenture of himselfe, fore-sends Publius Ostorius Scapula, a great warrier, Pro-prator into Brittaine, where he met with many turbulencies, and a people hardly to be driuen, howsoeuer they might be led: yet as one who well knew his maister; and how the first euents are those which incusse a daughtingnesse, or daring, imployd all meanes to make his expeditions sudaine, and his executions cruel. Notwithstanding did

¹ Nostra ætate, inquit Strabo, lib. 4. Regulorű quidem Britanicorum, legationibus & officijs amicitiam Augusti Cæs. consecuti, donaria in Capitolio dedicarunt: familiaremq; Romanis totam pene insulam redegerunt. And at that time it seemes by Strabo, held it not worth the garding for that it would not quit the charge.

Caradocus (one of the Brittish Kings) hold these great Romans worke for nine yeares together, and could not bee surprised, till betrayed by his owne Nation, he was diliuered into their hands, and brought to Rome captiue, with his wife and children, to be the subject of their triumph: whereof notwithstanding the glory was his.

But Claudius had the honour of taking in the whole Isle of Brittaine, to the Romane Empire, which though thus wone, was not, till a long time after, ouercome. For now the Brittaines (vnderstanding the misery of their dissociation: how their submission brought but the more oppression) colleague themselues against the Romanes, taking their occasion vpon the outrages, committed on the person and State of Oueene Voadicia, widdow of Prasutagus King of the Iceni, a great, and rich Prince who (at his death) had left Nero his heire, and two daughters, hoping thereby to free his house from iniury: but it fell out contrary, for no sooner was he dead, but his kingdom was spoyled by the Centurions, his house ransac'kt by slaues, his wife beaten, and his daughters rauished. Besides, the chiefe men of the Iceni (as if all the religion had beene giuen in prey) were reft of their goods, and the Kings kinsmen esteemed as captives: with which contumely, and feare of greater mischiefe, they conspire with the Trinobantes and others (not yet inured to seruitude) to resume their liberty. And first set vpon the Garrisons of the Veteran souldiers (whom they most hated) defeited the ninth legion, whereof they slew all the foote, forced Cerialis the Legat, and leader to flight, and put to the sword seauenty thousand Romans and associats, inhabiting their municipal Townes, London, Virolame, Camolodunum (now Maldon); before Suetonius Governour of the Province could assemble the rest of the dispersed forces, to make head against their Army (consisting of 120000 Brittaines) conducted by Voadicia, who (with her two daughters, brought into the field to mooue compassion and reuenge) lincites them to that noble, and manely

worke of liberty: which to recouer, she protests to hold her selfe there, but as one of the vulgar (without weighing her great honour and birth) resolved either to winne or die. Many of their wives were likewise there, to be spectators and incouragers of their husbands valour; but in the end Suetonius got the victory with the slaughter of foure score thousand Brittanes, whereupon Voadicia poysons her selfe: and the miserable Countrie with their heavie losse, had also more weights layde voon their seruitude. And yet after this made they many other defections, and brauely strugled with the Romans, vppon all aduantages they could apprehend, but the continuall supplies, euer ready from all parts of that mighty Empire, were such, as the Brittaines (having no meanes, but their owne swords, in an vncomposed State, layde all open to inuasion) spent their bloud in vaine. And in the end, growing base with their fortune (as losing their vertue with their liberty) became vtterly quailed, and miserably held downe to subjection. by the powerfull hand of foureteene Garrisons, disposed in severall limmits of the Land, with their companies, consisting of sundry strange nations, computated in all to bee 52. thousand foote, and 300. horse; besides 37. companies containing 23. thousand foote, and 1300. horse; which continually guarded the North parts, where that which is now Scotland, and obeyed not the Romaine Empire, was excluded from the rest with a wall or trench, first raysed by Agricola, after re-edified by Adrian, Seuerus and others. / (De noticia vtr. Imper. Pancioroul.)

The misery of the Brittaines vnder the Romans.—And in

The misery of the *Brittaines* vnder the *Romans*.—And in this sort continued the state of *Britaine* whilst the *Romans* held it; enduring all the calamities that a deiected nation could doe vnder the domination of strangers proude, greedy, and cruell: Who not onely content by all tyrannicall meanes to extort their substance, but also constrained their bodies to serue vnder their ensignes, when or wheresoeuer their quarrellous ambition would expose them. And besides, they being at the will of their rulers in their obedience, they were

forced to follow them also in their rebellions. For after the election of the Emperours grew to bee commonly made by the Armies, many possessing those mightie Roman forces here. were proclaimed Cæsars, and put for the whole Empire. first Carausius, and after him Alectus, whom Constantius (the associate of Maximianus in the Empire) at his first comming into Britaine, by Asclepiodorus the Prætorian Præfect vanquished, with all such as tooke part with him. After that, the Caledonians, and Picts from the North parts, made irruptions into the State, and much afflicted the Britaines, whom to represse, Constantius (then sole Emperour of the West) came the second time into this Land; and in an expedition made against them died at Yorke, whither his sonne Constantine (a little before his death) repaired out of Illyria, escaping a traine laid for him by Galerius Emperour of the East, with whom hee was in the warres against the Sarmatians, when his father came first into Britain against Alectus. And here was he now first saluted Emperour, for which it seemes he much esteemed the Country, as that which gaue birth to his dignity. And reordering the gouernment thereof (for a future security) deuides it into fiue Prouinces to be ruled by one Vice-gerent, fiue Rectors, two Consulars, and three Presidents. (De Notitia vtriusg; Imper.). After whose time wee haue no certaine nor apparant marke to direct vs which way the State went, till the reigne of Valentinian the elder, who sends Theodosius (the father of him who was after Emperour of that name) into Brittaine against the irruption of the Picts, Attacotti, Scoti, Saxones & Franci, which of all sides inuaded and spoiled the Country; and after Theodosius had by the forces of the Battaui and Heruli cleered it, Ciuilis was sent to gouerne the Prouince, and Dulcitius the Army: men of faire names for good offices.

The people of *Brittaine* consumed in the factions of the Emperours.—In these warres with *Theodosius* was one *Maximus*, a man borne in *Spaine*, but of *Roman* education, who after, in the time of the yonger *Valentinian*, having the charge of the

Army, was here proclaimed Casar, and to subuert the present Emperour, transports the whole power of Brittaine: and first in his way subdues Gaule, and there furnishes every place of defence with Brittish souldiers: and they say, peopled the whole Countrey of Armorica (now called Brittaine in France) with the same nation: which yet retaines their language, in some kinde to this day. And having spred one Arme to Spaine, the other to Germany, imbraced so great a part of the Empire, as he draue Valentinian to seeke avde of Theodosius Emperour of the East, after the vanquishment and death of his brother Gratianus at Lyons. And by this immoderate vent, both of the Garrisons, and the ablest people of the Land hee dis-furnisht and left it in that impotencie, as it neuer recouered like power againe. All those great forces hee tooke with him, either were left in Gaule, or perished with him at Aquileia, where hee was ouerthrowne by Valentinian.

And yet againe in the time of Honorius the Emperour, the Colony of the Veteran souldiers fearing the invasion of the Vandales, made another defection, and tumultuarilie proclaimed Emperour one Marcus, whom shortly after they slue; then Gratianus, who likewise within foure monthes being murthered, they gaue the title to one Constantine, not so much for his merite, as the omination of his name. This Constantine taking the same course that Maximus did, whatsoeuer strength was left, or lately in any sort recouered, he emptyed it wholy, and made himselfe of that power, as hee subdued many of the Westerne Prouinces, gaue his sonne Constans (a Monke) the title of Augustus, and after many fortunes, and incounters with the forces of Honorius, became vanquished, and executed at Arles. Where also perished the whole power hee brought out of Britain. And so the State (having all the best strength exhausted, and none, or small supplies from the Romans) lay open to the rapine, and spoyle of their Northerne enemies: who taking the advantage of this dis-furnishment, neuer left til / they had reduced them to extreme miseries: which forced them to implore the aide of Aetius, Præfect of Gaule vnder Valentinian 3, and that in so lamentable manner (their Embassadors in torne garments, with sand on their heads, to stirre compassion) as Aetius was moved to send forces to succour them, and caused a wall to be raised vpon the trench (formerly made by Adrian from Sea to Sea) of eight foote thicke, and twelue high, inter-set with Bulwarkes, which the Roman souldiers, and an infinite number of Brittains (fitter for that worke then warre) with great labour effected. And so Aetius left them againe once more freed, and defended from their enemies: aduising them from thenceforth to inure and employ their owne forces without any more expectation of succour from the Romans, who (ouerwrought with other businesse) could not attend affaires that lay so farre off. No sooner had the enemy intelligence of the departure of these succours, but on they came (notwithstanding this fortification) battered downe the wall, ouerthrew the defenders, and harrowed the Country worse then before. Whereupon, againe this miserable people send to Aetius, vsing these words: To Aetius thrice Consull, the sighes of the Brittaines, and after thus complaine: The barbarous enemy beates vs to the Sea, the Sea beates vs backe to the enemy: betweene these two kinds of deaths, we are either murdered, or drowned. But their implorations prevailed not, for Aetius at that time had enough to do to keepe his owne head, and Valentinian the Empire: which now endured the last convulsions of a dying State; haning all the parts, and Prouinces thereof miserably rent, and torne with the violences of strange nations. So that this was also in the fate of Brittaine to be first made knowne to perish by, and with the Roman State: Which neuer suffering the people of this Land to have any vse, or knowledge of Armes within their owne Countrey, left them (vpon their owne dissolution) naked, and exposed to all that would assaile them.

The end of the Romaines gouernment in Brittaine. Anno 447.—And so ended the Roman Gouernment in Brittaine, which

(from their first inuasion by *Iulius Cæsar* to this *Valentinianus* the third) had continued the space of fiue hundred yeares. In all which time we finde but these seuen *Brittish* Kings nominated to haue reigned: *Theomantius, Cunobelinus, Guiderius, Aruiragus, Marius, Choelus*, and lastly *Lucius*, who is crowned with immortall honour, for planting Christian Religion within this Land. All other from *Lucius* to *Vortigern* (who succeeds this relinquishment) were *Roman* gouernours.

Anno 443.—This is briefly so much of especiall note, as I can collect out of the Roman historie, concerning the State and gouernment of Brittain: finding elsewhere little certaintie, and from henceforth (during their short possession of this Land) farre lesse. Whereof Gildas the Brittain complaines (Gildas de excidio Britannia), laying the cause on the barbarism of their enemies, who had destroyed all their monuments, and memorials of times past. And though himselfe wrote, about forty yeeres after the inuasion of the Saxons, and was next these times, we come now to remember, yet hath hee left (in his enigmaticall passions) so small light thereof, as we discerne very little thereby. Nor haue the Brittaines any honour by that antiquity of his, which ouerblacks them with such vgly deformities, as we can see no part cleere: accusing them to be neither strong in peace, nor faithfull in war: and vniuersally casts those aspersions on their manners, as if he laboured to inueigh, not to informe. though no doubt there was (as euer is) in these periods of States a concurrencie of disorder, and a generall loosenesse of disposition that met with the fulnesse of time; yet were there no doubt, some mixtures of worth, and other notions of that age, wherewith after-times would have beene much pleased to haue had acquaintance. But it seemes his zeale and passion (in that respect) wider then his charity, tooke vp the whole roome of his vnderstanding, to whom the reuerence of antiquity, and his title of Sapiens doth now give Sanctuary, and we must not presume to touch him.

Anno 450. Vortigern calls in the Saxons.—Such was the State of Britain left without Armes, or order; when Vortigern (either by vsurpation, or faction) became King, and is sayd to be the author of the first calling in (or imploying, being in) the Saxons to make good his owne establishment, and the safety of his Kingdome against the Picts and Scots.

A description of the State of the Saxons.—Hengist and Horsa the Leaders of the Saxons. Their first plantation.—The Saxons at this time possest the third part of Germany, holding all the Countrey between the Riuers Rhene, and Elue, bounded on the North by the Baltique Sea, and the / Ocean. On the South by Silua Hircinia, and deuided by the river Visureis into Ostphalia, and Westphalia: gouerned by an Optimacie of twelue Princes, with an election of a Soueraigne leader for the businesse of warre. This beeing so spacious, populous and neere a Country, well furnisht with shipping (which the Brittaines had not,) yeelded euer plentiful meanes to supply the vndertakers of this action (which were first two brothers Hengist and Horsa) with all necessarie prouisions vpon euery fit occasion. After they had been here a while as stipendaries, and finding the debility of Prince and people, their number soone increased. And first they had the Isle of Thanet allowed them to inhabite, then the whole Countrie of Kent was made ouer to Hengist by transaction, under couenant, to defend the Land against the Picts and Scots. And vpon the mariage of Vortigern with the Daughter, or Neece of Hengist, an exceeding beautifull Lady, (brought ouer of purpose to worke on the dotage of a dissolute Prince) larger priviledges were granted: so that by this allyance, and the fertility of the Land, were drawne in so many of this populous, and military nation, that Kent in short time grew too narrow for them, and Hengist (to distend their power into other parts) aduised Vortigern to plant a Colony of them in the North beyond Humber, to be a continuall guard against all invasions that way. Which being granted, he sends for Otho his brother, and sonne Ebusa, with great supplies out of

Saxony to furnish that designe. And so came the Saxons to have first domination in Kent, and Northumberland, which contained all the Countrie from Humber to Scotland.

Vortigern is deposed. -- Vortimer elected King of Brittain. --King Arthur.—And now became they of servants maisters, to contemne their entertainours, and commit many insolencies. Whereupon the Brittish Nobility combine themselues, depose Vortigern (the Author of this improvident admission) and elect Vortimer his sonne, a Prince of great worth, who (whilest hee liued, which was not long) gaue them many fierce encounters; but all prevailed not, for the Saxons (being possest of the principall gate of the Land, lying open on their owne Countrie to receive all supplies without resistance) had the aduantage to weare them out of all in the end. And besides force, they are sayd to haue vsed treachery (in murthering three hundred of the Brittish Nobility) at an assembly of peace at Amesbury, where they tooke their King prisoner, and would not release him, but vpon the grant of three Prouinces more. Also the long life of Hengist (a politique leader) of almost forty yeares continuance, made much for the setling here of their estate; which yet they could not effect, but with much trauaile, and effusion of blood. For the Brittaines (now made martiall by long practise and often battels) grew in the end so inraged to see their Countrie surprized from vnder their feet, as they solde the inheritance thereof at a very deare rate. Wherein we must attribute much to the worthinesse of their Leaders (whence the spirit of a people is raised) who in these their greatest actions were, especially Ambrosius, the last of the Romans, and Arthur the noblest of Brittaines: A man in force and courage aboue man, and worthie to haue beene a subject of truth to posterity, and not of fiction (as Legendary writers have made him:) for whilst hee stood, hee bare vp the sinking State of his Countrie, and is said to have encountred the Saxons in twelve set battailes: wherein he had either victory, or equall reuenge. In the end, himselfe ouerthrowne

by treason, the best men consumed in the warres, and the rest vnable to resist, fled into the mountaines, and remote deserts of the West parts of the Isle, and left all to the inuaders, daily growing more, and more vpon them.

For many principall men of Saxony (seeing the happy successe, and plantation here of Hengist) entred likewise on diverse coasts to get estates for themselves, with such multitudes of people, as the Brittaines making head in one place were assaulted in another, and every where overwhelmed with new increasing numbers.

The seuerall entries made by the Saxons.—For after Hengist had obtained the dominion of Kent (which from him became to be a kingdome), and Otha, and Ebusa possest of all the North-countries from Humber to Scotland: Ella, and his sonnes conquered the South-East parts, and beganne the kingdome of the South Saxons, contayning Sussex, and part of Surrey. Then Cerdic, and his sonnes landed at Portsmouth inuaded the South, and West parts, and began the kingdome of the West Saxons, which after contained the Countries of Hampshire, | Barkeshire, Wiltshire, Dorcetshire, Sommersetshire, and Deuonshire. And about the same time, Vffa inuaded the North-East parts, and began the kingdome of the East Angles, containing Northfolke, Suffolke, Cambridgeshire, and the Isle of Ely; Erkenwin began the kingdome of the East Saxons, containing Essex, Middlesex, and a part of Hartfordshire.

Hauing thus (in a manner) surrounded the best of the whole State of Brittaine; they after inuaded the inner, and middle part. And Cridda began the Kingdome of Mercna-land, or middle Angles, contayning Lincolnshire, North-hamptonshire, Huntingdonshire, Rutlandshire, Bedford, Buckingham, Oxfordshire, Cheshire, Derbie, Nottingham, and Staffordshire, with parts of the shires of Hereford, and Hartford: Warwicke, Shropshire, Lancaster and Gloucestershire.

The Brittaines vtterly subdued by the Saxons.—And with all these Princes, and Leaders, before they could establish

their dominions, the Brittaines so desperately grappled, as plant they could not, but vpon destruction and desolation of the whole Country, whereof in the end they extinguished both the Religion, Lawes, Language, and all, with the people and name of *Brittaine*. Which having been so long a Prouince of great honour, and benefit to the Roman Empire, could not but partake of the magnificence of their goodly structures, Thermes, Aquaducts, High-waies, and all other their ornaments of delight, ease, and greatnesse: all which came to bee so vtterly razed, and confounded by the Saxons, as there is not left standing so much as the ruines to point vs where they were: for they being a people of a rough breeding that would not bee taken with these delicacies of life, seemed to care for no other monuments but of earth, and as borne in the field would build their fortunes onely there. Witnesse so many Intrenchments, Mounts, and Borroughs raised for tombes, and defences vpon all the wide champions, and eminent Hills of this Isle, remaining yet as characters of the deepe scratches made on the whole face of our Country, to shew the hard labour our Progenitors endured to get it for vs.

Which generall subuersion of a State is very seldome seene: Inuasion, and deuastation of Prouinces haue often beene made, but in such sort as they continued, or recouered, with some commixtion of their owne with the generation of the inuaders. But in this, by reason of the vicinage, and innumerous populacie of that Nation (transporting hither both sexes) the incompatibility of Paganisme, and Christianity, with the immense bloud-shed on both sides, wrought such an implacable hatred, as but one Nation must possesse all. The conquest made by the *Romanes*, was not to extirpate the Natiues, but to master them. The *Danes*, which afterward inuaded the *Saxons*, made only at the first depredations on the coast, and therewith for a time contented themselues. When they grew to haue further interest, they sought not the

subversion, but a community, and in the end a Soueraignty of the State, matching with the women they heere found, bringing few of their owne with them. The Normans dealt the like with the Prouince of Nuestria in France, who also after they had the dominion, and what the victorie would yeeld them in England, were content to suffer the people heere to have their being, intermatched with them, and so grew in short space into their body. But this was an absolute subversion, and concurred with the vniversall mutation, which about that time happened in all these parts of the world; whereof, there was no one Countrey, or Province but changed bounds, inhabitants, customes, language, and in a manner, all their names.

The absolute subversion of Brittaine, concurred with the generall mutation of other States of the world.-For vpon the breaking vp of the Roman Empire (first deuided into two, and then by faction disionnted in each part) imploying the forces of many strange Nations to fortifie their sides, were made so wide ruptures in the North, and North-east bounds of that Empire, as there burst out infinite streames of strange people that ouer-ranne, and laid open the world againe to liberty, other formes, and limits of State: whereupon followed all these transmigrations, and shiftings of people from one Country to another. The French and Burgognons dispossest the Gaules, and gaue the name of France, and Burgogne to their Prouince. The Gaules transplanted themselves on some coasts of Spaine, where they could finde, or make their habitation: and of them had Gallicia / and Portugall their name. The Huns and Auari subdued Pannonia, and thereto gaue the name of Hungary.

Lombardie so called of the Longberds.—The Longbeards a people in Germany, bordered vpon the Saxons, entred Italy, got the greatest part thereof, and left there their name to a principall prouince, remaining to this day. The Gothes and Vandalles miserably afflicted the rest, sackt Rome, and after subdued, peopled, and possest Spaine. So that it was not in

the fate of *Brittaine* alone to be vndone, but to perish, almost, with the generall dissolution of other States, which happened about the same age.

Wherefore, we are now here to begin with a new Body of people, with a new State, and gouernment of this Land, which retained nothing of the former, nor held other memory but that of the dissolution thereof: where scarce a Citie, Dwelling, River, Hill, or Mountaine, but changed names. Brittaine it selfe was now no more Brittaine, but New Saxony, and shortly after, either of the Angles (the greatest people of the inuadors) or of Hengist, called Engist-Land, or England. The distance made by the rage of warre, lay so wide betweene the conquering and the conquered people, that nothing either of Lawes, Rites, and Customes, came to passe ouer vnto vs from the Brittaines: nor had our Ancestors any thing from them, but their Countrey: which they first divided into eight Kingdomes: all which, continued to the last extermination of the Brittaines vnder Caretius their King, with whom they were driuen ouer Seuerne, 136. yeares after the first entertainment of Hengist. And soone after, the Saxons, encroching vpon each other parts, or States (which neuer held certaine bounds) and the stronger vsurping vpon their weaker neighbours, reduced them to seauen Kingdomes; that of the Northumbrians, being made one of two: and then to sixe (the West Saxons taking in the Kingdome of Sussex to their dominion.) And so it continued about 250 yeares.

At the first, by the space of 150 yeares, they were meerely gouerned by their owne Lawes, without mixture of any other. But after Augustus the Monke, sent with forty others, by Pope Gregory, had converted Æthelbert, King of Kent, and some other, they all shortly after received the Christian faith, and had their Lawes and Rites ordered according to Ecclesiasticall constitutions. Many of their Kings, when their sterne asperity grew mollified by humility of the Religion, began to raise presently so many and great monuments of their piety in all

parts of the Land, as if they striued who should exceed therein, and had no other glory: Diuers of them renounced their temporall dignities for spirituall solitude, and became Monkes: as Ætheldred, and Kinred, Kings of Mercna-land; Offa King of the East Saxons; Kadwalla and Ina, Kings of the West Saxons; Eadbert King of Northumbrians, &c.

At length the Kingdomes of Mercna-land, and West Saxe, so farre ouer-grew the others in power, as betweene them two it lay, who should have all. For Ina, a martiall, wise, and religious Prince, gouerning the West Saxons, first advanced that Kingdome to a preheminencie, and did much to have subdued Mercna-Land: but yet Offa, (afterwards King thereof) was in faire possibility to haue swallowed vp both the West Saxons, and all the rest of the Kingdoms. For whilst he liued, which was in the time of Carolus Magnus, (with whom he held league and amity) he was esteemed as the especiall King of the Land. But the many wrongs he did, and the murther committed in his house vpon Æthelbert King of the East Angles, comming to him under publique faith, and a Suitor to his daughter, were justly reuenged vpon his posterity, which after him declining, in the end lost all. For Egbert descended from Inegild, the brother of Ina, attaining the Kingdome of the West Saxons, began the way to bring all the rest into subjection. And being a Prince, who (from a private fortune, wherein he liued below, with, and not aboue other men) had learned sufferance and moderation; and by the estate of an exile, experience; grew to have great aduantages ouer the time, and others borne-fortunes, and rose by these meanes.

Ina, his great Vncle, renouncing the world, with his Kingdome, and dying without issue, left the succession imbroiled, and out of the direct royall lyne as hee found it. So that those foure Kings of the West Saxons, who seuerally succeeded him; Ethelard, Sigibert, Kenulph, and Britric, were rather Kings by election, and their owne power, then / by right

of descent. And Britric knowing the weakenesse of his title, and the much promising forwardnesse of Egbert; with his propinquity in bloud, to the former Kings, practized to haue him made away; which he perceiving, fled first to Offa, King of Mercna-land, where finding little security, in regard Britric had (to strengthen himselfe) married the daughter of the King, he escaped into France, and there remayned till the death of Britric, and then returning, obtaines that kingdome of the West-Saxons; subdues Cornewall, inhabited by the Brittaines; and after sets vpon Bernulph, newly invested in the Kingdome of Mercna-land; a State (by the rupture of the Royall line) likewise growne tottering. For Egferth, the sonne of Offa, enioyed but foure moneths the inheritance of his fathers immanity: whereby that Kingdome descended collaterally to Kennulph, who left it to Kenelme a childe, after murthered by his sister Ouinred. Ceolulph, brother to Kennulph, succeeding, after his first yeares reigne, was expeld by Bernulph, and Bernulph by Egbert, who made that Kingdome tributarie to the West Saxons, as hee did after that of the South, and East Saxons, with the Kingdome of Northumberland. And by this meanes (in a manner) attained to a soueraignty of the whole country. But the Danes imbroiling his peace in the end of his reigne, held him back from enioying such a fulnesse of power, as that wee may account him the absolute Monarch of the Kingdome; nor yet any of his successors, so long as the Danes continued vnsubiected. For they having first made irruptions into the State, in the reigne of the late King Britric (his predecessor) euer after held a part thereof and afflicted the whole, till they had attained the absolute soueraignty to themselues.

Egbert obtayned the kingdome, which by him was named England, An. 802.—The description of the Danes.—The Danes were a people of Germany, next neighbours to the Saxons, and of language and manners little different: Possessing besides Cimbrica Chersonesus (now called Denmarke)

all the Isles adiacent in the Baltique Sea, and sometimes the Kingdome of Norway: A mighty, rough, and martiall Nation; strong in shipping, through their exercise of piracy. and numerous in people for all suppliments. Who perceiuing here the happy successe, and plantation of the Saxons, were drawne with desire and emulation, likewise to put in for a part; the coast lying open to invasion, and the many dinisions of the Land, with the discord of Princes, making them an easie way therevnto. So that in a manner, as soone as the Saxons had ended their tranailes with the Brittaines. and drew to setling of a Monarchy; the Danes, as if ordained to reuenge their slaughters, began to assault them with the like afflictions. The long, the many, and horrible encounters betweene these two fierce Nations, with the bloudshed, and infinit spoiles committed in euery part of the Land, are of so disordered and troublous memory, that what with their asperous name, together with the confusion of place, times, and persons, intricately delivered, is yet a warre to the reader to ouer-looke them. And therefore to fauour mine owne paines and his, who shall get little profit thereby, I passe them ouer.

After the death of Egbert, Æthelwolph his sonne succeeded in the State, with the title of King of the West Saxons onely, and was a Prince more addicted to deuotion then action: as may be seene by his donation of the tenth part of his Kingdome (with exemption of all regall seruice) for the seruice of God: besides an annuity of three hundred markes, to be bestowed in pious vses at Rome; whither he went twice in person, with his youngest sonne Alfred, whom he especially loued; and whom (Pope Leo the fourth) annoynted a King, at eleuen yeares of age, as if diuining of his future fortune.

Vpon his last iourney and whole yeares stay at Rome, Æthelbald his eldest sonne, combin'd with the Nobility of the West Saxons to keepe him out, and deprive him vtterly of his government, and wrought so, as notwithstanding the great

loue his people bare him, he was brought to yeeld vp the Kingdome of the West Saxons to Æthelbald, and retaine onely the Kingdome of the East Angles, (a State of farre lesse dignity) to himselfe. After which, reigning but two yeares, Æthelbald succeeded in the whole, and with great infamy, marrying his fathers widow, Iudith, daughter to Charles le Chauue, King of France, enioyed it but two yeeres and a halfe, when Æthelred, the second sonne of Æthelulph, entred to the gouernment, which hee held fiue yeares in continuall conflict with the Danes. After whom,

Anno 872. Alfred.

Lfred, the mirrour of Princes (made a King before he had a Kingdome) at two and twenty yeares of his age (& in a yeare wherein eight seuerall battailes had been given to the *Danes* by the *Saxons*) be-

ganne his troublous raigne, wherein he was perpetually in war, either against his enemies, or else against vices. First, after a great danger to lose all, he was forced to yeelde vp a part of the Kingdome (which was that of east Angles and Northumberland) to Guthrum, leader of the Danes, whom (vpon his baptization) he made his Confederate, and owner of that by right, which before he vsurped by violence.

King Alfred first made collection of the Saxon Lawes.—And notwithstanding all the continuall, and intricate toyle hee endured amidst the clattering and horror of armes, he performed all noble actions of peace, collecting first the Lawes of his predecessors, and other the Kings of the Saxons (as those of Offa, King of Mercna-land, and Æthelbert the first Christian English King) of which, by the graue aduice and consent of his States assembled, hee makes choyce of the fittest, abrogates those of no vse, and addes other according to the necessity of the time.

The first deuision of the Land into Shires, Hundreds and

Tythings.—And for that the wildnesse of warre, by reason of these perpetuall conflicts with strangers, had so let out the people of the Land to vnlawfull riots, and rapine, that no man could trauaile without conuoy: He ordayned the diuision of Shires, Hundreds, and Tithings, that euery English man (now the generall name for all the Saxons) liuing legally, might be of a certaine hundred, or Tything, out of which, he was not to remoue without security; and out of which, if he were accused of any crime, hee was likewise to produce sureties for his behauiour; which if he could not finde, hee was to endure the punishment of the Law. If any malefactor before or after hee had put in sureties escaped, all the Tything or Hundred were fined to the King, by which meanes he secured Trauailers, and the peace of his Countrey.

Publique Schooles first erected.—The opinion hee had of learning made him often complaine the want thereof, imputing it amongst his greatest misfortunes to haue beene bred without it, and to haue his Kingdome so vtterly destitute of learned men, as it was, through the long continuance of this Barbarous Warre: which made him send out for such, as were any way famous for letters, and hauing gotten them, hee both highly preferred them, and also (as they doe, who knowe not too much themselues) helde them in great veneration: Setting a higher price on meaner parts, then after plenty did on more perfections. Grimbald and Scotus, hee drewe out of France: Asser (who wrote his life) out of Wales, other from other parts: hee was the first lettered Prince wee had in England, by whose meanes and encouragement publique Schooles had here, eyther their reviuing or beginning.

Those wants of his owne, made him take a greater care for the education of his sons, with whom were bred vnder most diligent masters almost all the children of the Nobility within his Kingdome.

All his owne time he could cleare from other businesse, he bestowed in study, and did himselfe, and caused others to

translate many things into the vulgar tongue, which hee laboured (it seemes) much to adorne, and especially affected the Saxons meeters, whereby to glorifie that of a King, he attayned the title of Poet. (West. Westm.)

The natural day consisting of 24. houres, he cast into three parts: whereof eight hee spent in prayer, study and writing; eight in the seruice of his body; and eight in the affaires of his State. Which spaces (hauing then no other engine for it) hee measured by a great wax light, deuided into so many parts, receiuing notice by the keeper thereof, as the seuerall houres passed in the burning.

The first suruey of the Kingdome.—With as faire an order did he proportion his reuenues, equalling his liberalities to all his other expences, whereof to make the current run more certaine, he took a precise notice of them, and made a generall suruay of the Kingdome, and had all the particulars of his Estate registred in a booke, which he kept in his Treasury at Winchester. And within this circumference of order, he held him in that irregularity of Fortune, with a weake disposition of body, and raigned 27. yeares, leauing his sonne Edward, a worthy Successor to mayntaine the line of Noblenesse thus begunne by him.

Anno 900.—Edwardus Senior.

Dward, though hee were farre inferiour to him in learning, went much beyond him in power: for he had all the Kingdome of Mercna-land in possession, whereof Alfred had but the homage, and

as some Write, held soueraignty ouer the east Angles, and Northumbrians: though we find (in the ioynt Lawes that he, and Guthrum made together) they held the same confederation fore-concluded by Alfred. He also subdued the Brittains in Wales: Fortified and furnished with garrisons diverse Townes in England that lay fit to prevent the incursions of the Danes;

and was all his raigne of 23. yeares in continuall action, and euer before hand with Fortune. And surely his father, he, and many that succeeded during this Danieg Warre, though they lost their ease, won much glory and renowne. For this affliction held them so in, as having little out-lets, or leasure for ease and luxury; they were made the more pious, just and carefull in their gouernment: otherwise it had beene impossible to have held out against the Danes, as they did, being a people of that power and vndauntable stomacke, as no fortune could deterre, or make to give ouer their hold. imbecility of some vnactiue Prince, at that time had beene enough to have let them quite into the whole: which may be the cause, that in the succession of some of these Kings, were certaine ruptures made out of course, in respect of their ablenesse. As first, after the death of this renowned King Edward Senior, his Sonne.

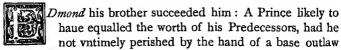
Anno 924.—Athelstan a Bastard preferred before the lawfull sonne.



Thelstan of full yeares, and spirit, was (notwithstanding the bracke in his birth) preferred before his legitimate sonne Edmond vnder age: Nor did Athelstan

disappoynt the Kingdome in this worke, but performed all noble parts of Religion, Iustice and Magnanimity, and after sixteene yeares raigne died without issue.

Anno 940.—Edmond-Edred or Eldred-Edwin.



in his owne house, at a festivall, amidst his people that dearely loued and honoured him. And though he left two sonnes, yet was



Dred his brother preferred to the Kingdome before them: who (making no variation from the line of Vertue continued by his Ancestors) was held per-

petually in worke by the Danes during the whole time of his raigne, which was of ten yeares.



Dwin his Nephew, the eldest sonne of Edmond, succeeded him (an irregular youth) who interrupting the course of goodnesse liued dissolutely, and dyed

wishedly. Otherwise had Edgar (the other sonne of Edmond) continued that rare succession of good Princes, without the interposition of any ill, which is not in the Fate of a Kingdome.

Anno 959.—Edgar—Edgar prouides shipping—A most vsefull progresse.

Dgar, though he were but sixteene yeares of age, yet capable of counsell, was by the graue aduice of his Bishops (who in that time of zeale held especially the raines on the hearts, and affections

of men) put, and directed in the way of goodnesse, and became a most heroicall Prince. Amongst other his excellent actions of gouernment, hee prouided a mighty Nauy to secure his coasts from invasion, which now hee found (though late) was the only meane to keep out those miseries from within, that thus lamentably afflicted the Land euer before negligent, or not invred to Sea-affaires. For when the Romans first subdued the same, there was no shipping but a few small vessells made of wicker, and couered with hides: wherby they, and after the Danes (both mighty, as those times gaue, in shipping) found that easie footing they had. Yet Egbert is sayd to have prouided a strong Nauy, about the yeare 840. And Alfred 30. or 40. yeares after did the like. But either now dis-vsed or consumed by the enemy, Edgar re-edifies, & sets forth a fleete consisting (as some write) of 1600. saile, others a farre greater number; and those he divides into foure parts of the Realme. making his progresse yearely, with part of his mighty Nauy, round about the whole Isle, whereof he assumed the title of King.

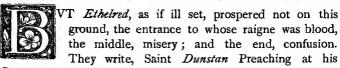
And to reduce it to one name and Monarchie, hee was intituled King of all Albion, as testifies his Charter granted to the Abbey of Maldesmesbury, in these words: Ego Edgarus totius Albionis Basilius, nec non Maritimorum, seu insulanorum Regum circum habitantium, &c. For hee hauing first of all other made peace with the Danes, and granted them quiet co-habitation through all his Dominions; had the Soueraignty ouer them: And Kenneth, King of Scots did him homage, whether for Cumberland and Westmerland, given to that Crowne by King Edmond his father; or for his whole kingdome; I cannot say. And five Kings of Wales did the like for their Country, and came all to his Court at Cardiffe.

He raigned 16 yeares.—Saint Edward.—Anno 975.—So that hee seemes the first, and most absolute Monarch of this Land, that hitherto wee finde: The generall peace that held all his time, honoured his name with the Title of Pacificus; and rendred his Kingdome (neuer before acquainted with the glory of quietnesse) very flourishing. But as if the same had beene given to shewe, and not to vse (like a short calme betwixt stormes) it lasted but little beyond his raigne of sixteene yeares: being too short to close the disseuered ioynts of a commixed kingdome; which was onely, to have beene the worke of Time; and that none of these late Princes (who were best like to have advanced, and confirmed the State of a Monarchie) were ordayned to haue. But all (as if things would another way) were put off from their ends, by their vntimely deaths: as was this glorious young Prince, in the two and thirtieth yeare of his age: leaving his sonne Edward, a childe, to vndergo the miseries of non-age, to bee made a sacrifice for ambition, and a Saint by persecution, through the hand of a step-mother; who to advance her owne son Ethelred, brake in ouer the bounds of Nature and right, to

make his way; and is sayd, her selfe to have murthered him, comming to her house, estrayed, in hunting, and discompanied, in the Isle of *Purbecke*.

Ethelred.

Anno 978.—Two conquests of this kingdome in fifty yeares.



Coronation, prophetically (fore-told him) of the calamities would follow this transgression: Saying: For that thou hast aspired to the Crowne, by the death of thy brother, murthered by thy mother: Thus sayth the Lord: The sword shall neuer depart from thy house, raging against thee all the dayes of thy life, slaying those of thy seed, till the Kingdome be transferred to another, whose fashion and language, the people shall not know. Nor shall thy sinne, nor the sinne of thy ignominious mother, with her Counsellors, be expiated, but by long auengement. And this (whether so vttered or not) was ratified in the euent. For eyther this vniust disordering the succession or the concurrency of hidden causes meeting with it, so wrought, as this late begunne Monarchy fell quite asunder, and begat the occasion of two Conquests, by Forraine Nations, within the space of fifty yeares.

The spoyles made by the Danes.—The original of Dane gelt, the first imposition layd vpon the Kingdome.—For the Danes, having now beene so long inmates with the English, dis-spread ouer all parts by intermatching with them, and multiplying with the late peace and Confederations, had their party (though not their rule) greater then euer: so that this oportunitie of a young and vnsetled Prince, in a new and brangling State, drewe over such multitudes of other of the same Nation, as every Coast and Part of the Land, were

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miserably made the open rodes of spoyle and sackage: in such sort, as the State knew not where to make any certaine head against them: For if encountred in one place, they assailed another, and had so sure intelligence what, and where all preparations were raised, as nothing could be effected anaylable to quaile them: Whereupon Ethelred, in the end, was faine, seeing he could not preuaile with the sword, to assayle them with mony, and bought a peace for 10000, pounds; which God wot, proued after, a very deare peny-worth to the common-wealth, shewing the seller thereof, how much was in his power, and the buyer, at how hard a rate his necessity was to be serued; & yet not sure of his bargaine, longer then the Contractor would. Who having found the benifit of this / market, raised the price thereof almost euery year. And yet had not Ethelred what he paide for: the Land in one part or other, neuer free from spoyle and inuasion; but rather the more now opprest, both by the warre, and this taxation. Which was the first we finde in our Annales, laide vpon the Kingdome (and with heavy grievance raysed in a poore distressed State) continuing many ages after the occasion was extinct: And in the end (though in another name) became the vsuall supplyment, in the dangers of the Kingdome, and the occasions of Princes.

And hereby Ethelred both inlarged the meanes, and desire of the enemy, so that at length, came Swain, King of Denmarke and Anlafe, King of Norway, in person, as if likewise to receive hire for committing outrage; and were both returned with great sums, and Anlafe of a milder disposition, with baptisme. These callamities from abroad, were made more, by the disloyalties at home, faith and respect (beeing seldome found safe in lost fortunes) held not in most of the principall men imployed in the defence. Aelfricke, Admirall of the Nauy, is sayd to have given intelligence of all Sea-preparations, and disappoynted that worke. The Earles Fran, Frithigift, Godwin, and Turkettle discended of Danike

progeny, and of greatest commaund, deceiued the armies by Land, and were the authors of discouragement to the people they led. *Edric* Earle of *Marc-land*, after them made Generall of the Kings forces, is branded with euerlasting ignominy, and the title of *False*, for his barbarous disloyalty, frustrating all attempts wherein he was imployed.

Wolnod a Nobleman, for his misdemeanour outlawd, made depredations on the coasts with twenty ships, and was the cause that fourescore men sent to take him in, were vtterly consumed. This defection of his Nobility, howsoeuer it might bee by their owne discontent, emulation, corruption, or affection: is layde to the pride of Ethelred, whom yet we finde more vnfortunate then weake, howsoeuer they have set his marke, and neglected no occasion to make resistance and preparations against all euents, bringing often his affaires to the very point of dispatch, and yet put by, at an instant from all, as if nothing went with him, but his will to do worthely: which howsoeuer it were, (besides the misery to loose) hee must have (that which accompanies infelicity) Blame, and Reproach. Though the many and desperate battailes he made and good constitutions for the gouernment; the prouisions to supply all important occasions, shew, that hee was not much behinde the best Princes, but onely in fortune.

By the example of *Edgar* his Father, hee procured a mighty Nauie; causing of euery three hundred and ten Hide, or Plough-land throughout the Kingdome, a Shippe to bee built, and of euery eight, a Corslet to be found: Yet all this shipping stood him in little stead, but was either quasht with tempest, consumed with fire by the enemy, or otherwise made vnusefull by neglect, or ignorance: whereby the hope and infinite charge of the State were disappoynted. Famine and mortality, the attendants of warre, with strange inundations, wrought likewise their part, as if conspirators of destruction, all concurred to make a dismall season.

Many yeares it was not, ere Swaine King of Danes, returned

to raise againe new summes, by new afflictions; and tormenting heere this poore turmoyled people, more then euer, receiues a fee for bloodshed, to the summe of 48000. pounds, granted in the generall assembly of the States at *London*; and a peace, or rather paction of seruitude concluded; with quiet cohabitation, vse of like liberties, and a perfect vnion betweene the two Nations, confirmed by oathes of either part, and hostages deliuered of ours.

But this as a breathing time, scarce held out the yeare: When the occasion of greater mischiefes was given by a vniuersall massacre of the *Danes* suddenly heere contriued: and effected by the Kings commandement, vpon the suggestion of *Hune*, a great Commaunder, and a violent warrier of that time: Vrging the insolencie of the *Danes*, that now growne haughty with this peace, committed many outrages, violating the Wives and Daughters of Great men, with many other intollerable disorders.

The massacre of the Danes, Anno 1002.—Gunild slaine.—Such, and so suddaine was the generall execution of this act, throughout all parts of the kingdome at one instant, as shewed the concurrency of an inveterate rankor, and incompatibility of these two nations, impossible to be conioyned, So that neither Temples, Altars, Supplications, nor any band of aliance, were auaileable to saue them from slaughter. Wherein to insence the more their King, Gunild, his sister, a woman of masculine courage, who had a little before received Christendom, a mediator and pledge of the peace, having first her husband and son slaine in her sight, rather with a threatning, then appaled countenance, met her death making imprecation for revenge, and foretelling her blood would, as it did, cost England deere.

Swaine wins England.—Ethelred flies into Normandy.— Swaines death.—Soone was the notice of this enormious act, given to Swaine, and as soone armed with rage and power, reentered hee the Kingdome, having now a fairer shew to doe fowlie, then euer: wrong had made him a right, who had none before: and the people of the Land, not so forward to maintaine their acts, as commit it, rather were content to give him the possesion of their country, then that he should win it: the greatest part of the Kingdome submitting themselues vnto him; onely the City of London, which Ethelred held fortified, made noble resistance till he left them; and conueyed himselfe first into the Isle of Wight, and after into Normandy, whither he had sent Emma his Queene, with her two sonnes, Alfrid and Edward, before, from the rage of this tempest. But within two moneths he was recalled home by the people of England, vpon the death of Swaine, who at the point to have beene crowned King, and had generally taken hostages and oathes of fealty, died suddenly: leaving his sonne Knute to succeed his fortunes, and accomplish what he intended.

Ethelred returnes.—Knute returnes.—Ethelreds death.— Ethelred returning, was soone furnisht with an Army, sets vppon Knute in Lindsey; where hee lay with his Fathers shipping, and Hostages, and draue him to take the seas: wherewith inraged, making about to Sandwich, hee miserably mangled, and dismembred those hostages, and so sent them home: himselfe, with the spoyles his Father and hee had gotten, returned to his countery, to make greater preparations for the prosecution of his purpose. Ethelred in the meane time, to increase the summe of reuengement, with more wrath, at a generall assembly at Oxford, caused many of the Danique Nobility to be murthered: Among which were Sigifrith, and Morchar, Earles of Northumberland, whom the false Edric (who had a hand one each side for mischiefe) inuiting to his lodging, under pretence of feasting, barberously caused to be slayne: their followers, after they had so long as they could desperately defended themselues and their maisters, fled into a Church, where they were with the same burnt. Knute, armed with the greatest of his owne and neighbours powers made nis confederates, landed againe, within the yeare, at Sandwich, and without resistance, had all the West parts rendred into him, with pledges for their obedience, and furnishment with horse and armor. Here the false Edric leaves his Liege-ord, and yeelds vp forty shipps and his periured Faith to Knute. Ethelred, languishing in minde and body, Edmond his son, surnamed Ironside (to oppose youth to youth) was imployed against this rabious invador. A Prince worthy of a better time, and had hee found Faith, had made it so, and leliuered his Country at that turne, from the worst of miseries, the conquest by strangers.

Knute. Edmond Ironside.

Edmond Ieronside sonne to Ethelred, by his first wife Ethelgina.

Anno 1016.



VT now vpon the death of Ethelred (whose 37. yeares reigne, shewes that infelicity shall have time too much, and happinesse too little), Knute was by most of the Clergy and Nobility there about, made election of Edmond, and

furnished him with that power, as thereby, with the couragious ardour of his youth (which commonly is most in the first attempts) he had the better in three imminent battels, within three moneths, and had likewise obtained the Fourth at Essendon (likely to have beene the last with the Danes) but that the disloyall Edric (late renouncing his new Lord, seeing Edmonds part in possibilitie to prevaile) againe betrayed his truth, and withdrew himselfe and the charge he had, to the enemy. This fatal battell lost England: heere perished the best flower of honour it then had: Heere amongst the rest was slaine, Vlkil, an Earle of Essex, of ever memorable worth, who had long stood vp for the Kingdome, and in the time of Swaine, was the first that shewed there was hope and possibility to quaile the enemy, had there bin an vnion in loyalty.

Edmonds single combate with Knute.—Peace concluded.— England deuided betweene them.—The death of King Edmond Ironside at Oxford.—From this bloudy worke, Edmond escapes to Glocester, to recollect new forces; nor was hee so forsoken with this Fortune, but that hee soone recouered another army, to re-assaile the enemy, that might bee idle vppon this victorie. But Knute as provident in the prosecution of his businesse, as fortunate therein, makes after: Heere when both Armies weere at the poynt to incounter, a motion of peace was propounded: Some say the two Kings, by single combat consented to decide their fortunes, and the ouer-commer to take all: and that (in an Isle of the Riuer Seuern, their Armies, on either shore, spectators of the act) they tried the maistery for the prize of a Kingdome. After long and equall fight, finding each others worth, they cast away their weapons, imbraced, and concluded the peace. But howsoeuer; it seemes (both sides tyred with the misery of a consuming warre, neuer like to be ended, but by the vtter extirpation of the one, and considering the danger of the either, and incertainty of the future) weere easily perswaded to imbrace a present agreement which was made, by parting England betwixt them two, and confirmed by Oath and Sacrament: putting on each others Apparell, and Armes, as a ceremony to expresse the attonement of their mindes, as if they made trans-action of their persons each to the other. Knute became Edmond, and Edmond, Knute. A fatall exchange, for so free and magnanimous a Prince as Edmond: who indeed, was now no more himselfe; and being but halfe a King, was in so few dayes after, none: as makes this peace shew fouler then warre: for that armed him for life, this exposed him naked to death, which was shortly after treacherously given him at Oxford; some say, by the son of Edric (as if to shew hee would bee the heire of his father also in Treason) whereby both the hope, and the other halfe of England were vtterly lost, as determinable with his reigne; which (with all we have else of his magnanimous actions) took vp scarce the

circuit of one whole yeare: And yet had that bene space enough for glorie (whose measure is to be taken rather by the profundity, then the length, which seldome holds long and euen) could he haue had that cleere: And better for his renowne, to haue died at the battaile of Essendon with England, then condescended to haue made it halfe Denmarke, and liue.

Knute.

A. 1018. Knute the first Danique King.—83000 pounds paide to King Knute for euacuation of Strangers.



VT by this meanes, Knute attained the absolute dominion of the whole Kingdome, which hee gouerned with better Iustice then hee got it, conforming his natiue roughnesse, to a more civill, and regular fashion of life: And to have

England see, that now he was hers; he sends away his Nauie, and stipendary souldiers home to their countries, and puts himselfe wholly vpon this people; taking the way of mildnesse a better meanes for his establishment, then force: but the Land paid for the remuneration of his people, and this euacuation of Strangers 83000 pounds of siluer; which it rather consented to doe at once, then to have them a daily burthen, to pester the State for euer.

Edward married to Agatha the Queene of Hungaries sister.—At his first comming to the Crowne, he sought to rid himselfe, as well of his friends, as of those might prooue his enemies. Edric, who came first to salute him sole King of England (as if to tell, that he made him so) hee caused his head to be set on the highest part of the Tower of London; therein performing his promise, of aduancing him aboue any Lord of the Land, and thereby discharged himselfe of such a debt; which, though he should have paide, would never yet bee held fully cleered; giving a generall satisfaction thereby to the people, they reioyced to see Treason so iustly rewarded.

Like compensation had shortly after, the Earles Turkill, and Erick who being banished the Land, were executed vpon their arrivall in Denmarke. But the love, and high opinion of Iustice he got in these, were lost againe in those actions, wherein hee tooke counsell onely / of his feares, for the extirpation of all those of the Royall blood of England; As of Edwin, and Edward the sonnes of the late King Edmond (to whom appertayned the moietie of the Kingdome by contract) and of Edwin his brother, which three, he sent to be murthered abroad, to beguile the rumore at home: But which is strange; those times, though rough, affoorded not yet an instrument for the execution of his desire: and all these Princes were preserved, and conveyed out of danger by those, who should have made them away. The two last were bred by Salomon, King of Hungarie, where Edward (surviving his brother) marryed Agatha sister to the Queene (and daughter to the Emperour Henry the second) by whom he had two sons, Edmond, and Edgar; daughters, Margaret and Christian.

His erection of Churches and of Church gouernment.—
Alfred, and Edward, sonnes of King Ethelred, by Emme, were preserved by Richard, Duke of Normandy their Vncle, and so lay out of his way. This private inivisice (which often may be more in compassion, then hurt to the State) he sought to recompence with all publique satisfactions, repairing the naufrage of the common wealth (made by the rage of warre) both in ornament and order: erecting Churches and Monasteries with large pattents of provisions; both for the expiation of his immanities fore-committed, and to memorize the places of his victories with his thankefulnesse to God. The Constitutions Ecclesiasticall and Civile, divulged in the Language of that time, testifie his tender piety, and care of Iustice: and are so full of religious admonitions, as it seemes he held, the best meanes to have lawes observed, was, by having them first inacted in the consciences of men. Amongst others, hee inflicted exact punishment on all intemperances of

his people, and offences committed against publique manners. Seuere hee was, but not cruell: few of his lawes sanguinary, as beeing not the custome of the time, which though rough, yet found meanes to maintaine publique manners, without that luctuall remedy of bloud. No punishments cappitall, vnlesse conspiracies; the rest were all pecuniary mulcts, banishments, bondage or imprisonment. To shew his clemency, this (amongst many) is one example: there was a law, that, Whosoeuer had committed theft; and the goodes found in his house, all his familie were made bond, euen to the childe in the cradle: This he abrogates, as most vniust, and ordaines, That onely the malefactor, and such as should aide him, should indure the punishment, and that the wife (vnlesse the things stolne were found vnder her locke) should not be guilty of her husbands offence.

Thus was hee to his people, with whom, hee is saide to haue soe well cleared himselfe (howsoeuer he did with God) that he became King of their affections, as well as of their Countery. And to maintaine this opinion, he did many popular acts: as first of all Rites of Honour and reuerence to the memory of the late King Edmond, his confederate: besides the executing of all such as could be found to haue had any hand in that murther. Then married he here at home, Emme, late wife to King Ethelred (though it were more for his honour then hers, to accept his bed, that had bin the persecutor of her husband and children) whereby hee held the Duke of Normandy, from attempting any thing for his Nephewes, in regard, his sister might haue other by him.

Knute King of England, Denmarke, and Norway.—Hauing thus established this mighty Kingdome, occasion prepares him another. The people of Norway, contemning the debilitie of their King, and conspiring to depose him, grew into faction: whereuppon hee fastens; and with the great forces hee brought out of England, the might of mony, and high estimation of his worthines, so preuailed, as he soone obtained that Kingdome,

and was now the most renouned and potent Prince in all these parts of the world: intitled, King of *England*, *Denmarke*, and *Norway*.

Here withall grew his magnificence, as wide as his power, and was especially extended to the Church, which hee laboured most to gratifie, either for the conscience of his deedes, or that his people, (generally addicted to deuotion) might be made the more his. And holding it not enough to poure out his immense bountie heere within the land, seekes to make *Rome* also feele the fulnesse thereof, whither hee went in person, and performed many workes of charitie and honour; both there, and in all his voyage. Hee freed the *Saxon* schoole, his predecessors of *England* had founded, from all imposition: as he did likewise all straights and passages, where trauailers were with rigor constrayned to pay toll.

Of his entertaynment at *Rome* with the Pope, *Conrado* the Emperour, and diuerse other Princes of the Christian world, himselfe writes to the Bishops and Nobility of *England*, and withall exhorts them very powerfully to haue an especiall regard to the due administration of Iustice, to all his subjects alike, without doing the least wrong for his gaine, hauing no neede to aduance his reuenue by sinne: And also charges them to see all *Churchscot* and *Ramescot* fully cleared before his returne.

Knute the most absolute Monarch of this Kingdome, of any that was before him.—The actiue vertue of this Prince, beeing the mightiest, and most absolute Monarch that euer yet appeared in this Kingdome, the author of sect, and first of a new Gouernement, is such; as shewes he striues by all worthy wayes, to lay the ground-worke of a State; which according to his frame, was liker to hold good to his posterity, then not. And as likely was he, to haue beene the roote of a succession, spreading into many descents, as was afterward the Norman, having as plentifull an issue masculine, as he: besides, he raigned neere as long; farre better beloued; of

disposition more bountifull, and of power, larger to do good. But it was not in his fate; his children miscarried in the succession, and all this great worke fell in a manner with himselfe.

Harold.

Anno 1038 .- Harold's cruelty.

Arold, the eldest sonne of Knute (some write by his fathers ordinance, others by the election of the Danique Nobility, in an assembly at Oxford) was made King: whereas Godwin Earle of Kent, and

the Nobility of England, would have chosen Hardiknute, borne of Queene Emme, or else Alfred, the sonne of Ethelred, who is sayd to have come out of Normandy, vpon the death of Knute, to claime the Crowne; But Harold, being at hand carried it; The first act of whose reigne, was the banishment, and surprizing all the treasure of his step-mother Queene Emme; Then the putting out the eyes of Alfred her sonne, his competitor: and committing him to a loathsome prison, where hee died. For which deede, the Earle Godwin beares a foule marke, as betraying him. Queene Emme repaires to Baldouin, Earle of Flanders, her kinsman, where she remained during the reigne of Harold, which was but of foure yeares, and then with her sonne Hardiknute (who came out of Denmarke, as it seemes prepared for some thing else, then to visit her at Bridges) returned into England.

Hardiknute.

Anno 1041.

His Hardiknute invested in the Government, soone frustrated the hope and opinion fore-conceived of him, and first in like sort beganne with that degenerous act of revenge (wherein none are sayd

so much to delight in, as women) causing the body of the late

king to bee vntomb'd, the head cut off, and throwne into the Thames; Then makes inquisition for such as were guilty of the death of Alfride, his brother by the mother, whereof Earle Godwin and the Bishop of Worcester are accused; The Bishop is dispossest his Sea, and the Earle with a rich and rare deuised present, in forme of a Ship of gold, appeased that furie, making protestation of his innocency before the whole Nobilitie, with whom in respect his deepe roote had spread so many branches, he stood firme, and all the blame was layd to the violence and rankor of the late King.

Besides the offending these great men, hee added a generall grieuance to the whole Kingdome, by a prodigall largesse, giuing to every Marriner of his Nauy eight Markes, and to every Maister tenne, which hee imposed to bee payde by the State. But after having called home Edward his other halfe brother, out of Normandy, hee lived not long, for farther violences; Dying suddenly the second yeare of his reigne, in the celebration of a marriage at Lambeth in his greatest iolity, not without suspition of poyson.

The reason of the extinction of the Danes in England (Anno 1042).—And with him ended the Gouernment of the Danes in England (having onely continued 26. yeeres vnder these three last Kings) and that without any cracke or noyse, by reason the nation had no predominant side, that might sway the State, in respect of the remission of their power home in the first yeere of Knute, and no great admission of others after: and that such, as were here before, were now so incorporated with the English, as they made one body: and most of them planted in the remote parts of the Kingdome, that lay ouer against Denmarke: whereby, that which with all the strugling, no power or diligence of man could resist, expired of it selfe: leauing England to a King of her owne, and Denmarke to ciuill discord about the succession; Norway likewise returning obedience to a son of Olaue, recouered quietnesse, and a home-borne King.

Edward the Confessor.

Edward the Confessor (Anno 1042).—His continency.

DWARD (the son of Ethelred) is sent for into Normandy, and by the whole State elected, and crowned King of England, at Winchester, by Edfine Archbishop of Canterbury, Anno 1042.

being about forty yeares of age. Godwin Earle of Kent, was a principall agent in his preferment, but, for his owne ends. The Kingdome (as having dearely paide for the admission of strangers) ordained, that he should not bring any Normans with him. The first Act he did, was the remission of the Danegilt, imposed by his Father, which amounted to forty thousand pounds yearely, and had beene payd for forty yeeres Hee caused the Lawes to bee collected, out of those of the Mercians, West Saxons, Danes, and Northumbrians, and to be written in Latine. He was a Prince most highly renowmed for his piety; and fit for no other, then the calme time he had. For having beene so long brought vp with the Nunnes at *Iumieges* in *Normandy*, he scarce knew to be a man. when he came into England. And to shew how little he vnderstood himselfe; they note, how in a great anger, he sayd to a base fellow, that disturbed his game in hunting, I would punish thee, were I able. And as if he had vowed their continency, with whom hee was bred, hee was so far from knowing other women (either through conscience or debility) as his owne wife after his death, protested her selfe free from any carnall act done by him, and yet lived he (for the most part) with her in all formall shew of marriage.

Earle Godwins greatnesse.—The Earles Syward and Leofrike, men of noble actions.—The soft simplicity of this King, gaue way to the greatnesse of the Earle Godwin, and his children, who for that hee would seeme the especiall man in his preferment to the Crowne; and by matching his daughter Edith

to him, swayed chiefly the wheele of that time: and yet not without opposition: For Syward, Earle of Northumberland, and Leofrike, Earle of Hereford (men of as great State and spirit), seeing him most for himselfe, became more for the King, and had their turne in performing very noble actions. Nor did their emulation, but much conduce to the present benefit both of the King, and State; For the Earle Syward would not be behind hand, in effecting as braue deedes in the North, as Harold, Earle of Westsexe, the son of the Earle Godwin performed against the Welch, in the West: For the first depriued of life and Crowne, Macbeth, an vsurper, and inuested Malcolm, in the Kingdome of Scotland; the other defeited Ris, and Griffine, two brothers, Kings of Wales, and subdued that Province to this Crowne.

Eustace Earle of Bullogne maried Goda the Kings sister .-Besides, the Earle Godwin had to struggle with an Archbishop of Canterbury, Robert a Norman, preferred from a Monke, first to London, and after to that Sea, by the King, inwardly affecting most that nation, as being part of their bloud, and bred amongst them. Of whom it seemed (notwithstanding the former order taken to the contrary) he had many about his person, whose neerenesse, being strangers, whatsoeuer they did, could not auoyd to be thought to doe all offices against the Earle, and the English in general: whereby, what went not right in the line of mens desires, was thought to be their cause. And in stomackes full charged, this occasion gaue more fire. Eustace Earle of Bullogne, who had married Goda the Kings sister, having beene at the Court, and returning into France, his Harbenger in taking vp lodgings at Douer, vpon his peremptory behauiour, was by a Citizen slaine; The Earle arriving with all his traine, pursues, and slue the homicide, with 18. other. The City seeing this, tooke armes, and in the bickering, the Earle lost 22. of his men: whereupon, backe he hastes to the King, aggrauates the insolency of the Citizens so farre; that the Earle Godwin is

sent for, and commanded with a power of men, to make against the City of *Douer*, to chastice the people. The Earle (considering it was vpon the information of one side) aduised the King rather to send for the chiefe of the City, to understand what they could say for themselues, and accordingly to proceed; which (being taken for a coldnesse in the businesse, and of fauour to his Countrymen) gaue the King and his enemies occasion to suspect his affection.

Earle Godwins insurrection.—The French forsake the Court. and Kingdome of England.-Shortly after, the Earle is summoned to an Assembly at Glocester, where neither hee, nor any of his sons would appeare; and suspecting some practise against him by his enemies, raises forces, pretending to suppresse the Welch, who were not found to offend; whereupon the Assembly remoues to London, summons him againe to make his appearance, to dismisse his forces, and to come onely attended with twelue persons. Hee sends them word; to dismisse his forces hee was content, or any thing else the King would command him, so it were with the safety of his life and honour; but to come disaccompanied, was for neither. Then was hee commanded within fiue dayes to depart the Realme, which he did, and with Toustaine, and Swayne his sons, gets him into Flanders, where Toustaine married the daughter of the Earle Baldouin the 5. Harald his eldest son, departs into Ireland: the King puts from him the Queene, to bee partaker of the disgrace, and misery of her house; who is described (by the writers of those times) to haue beene a Lady of rare parts, excellently learned, beautifull, and as faire of minde as body. The Earle Godwin in this desperate fortune (whilst the French and his enemies possest the King) fell to Piracy, disturbed the coasts, approached London, by the River; and being so popular, as no forces would oppose against him, made at length his own peace with power; in such sort, as the French fearing reuenge, forsooke both the Court, and Kingdome.

Thus (as fore-pointing to a storme that was gathering on that coast) began the first difference with the *French* nation: which, thus acquainted with the distraction of the Kingdome, and factions of great men, wrought on those aduantages, and were instruments to draw on the fatall enterprize that followed.

The weakenesse of the King, and the disproportionate greatnesse of the Earle *Godwin*, being risen vp from so great a fall (learning thereby, to looke better to his feete, and make his sides strong) increased these discontentments, and partialities in the State; wherein many acts of iniustice, by the sway of power and passion were committed; which did much blacken that time of peace, and made a good man (not by doing, but enduring ill) held to be a bad King.

Queen *Emmes* affliction and triall.—And it is said, that *Emme*, the Queene-mother, had her part of much affliction in his reigne, suffering both in her goods and fame: and now to purge her selfe of a scandall raised on her with *Alwyn* Bishop of *Winchester*, she vnder-went the triall of *Fire-Ordeall* (which was to passe blind-fold, with bare feete, ouer certaine plough-share, made red hote, and layd an vneuen distance one before the other) which she safely performed. And the reason why, both her son and the State so little respected this great Lady, whose many yeares had made her an actor in diuers fortunes, was, for that she neuer affected King *Ethelred*, nor the children she had by him: and for her marriage with *Knute*, the great enemy and subduer of the Kingdome, whom she euer much more loued liuing, and commended dead.

King Edward founder of Westminster Church.—It seemed these private grudges, with mens particular ends, held these times so busied, that the publike was neglected, and an issue-lesse King, gaue matter for ambition and power, to build hopes and practises vpon; though for his owne part, he shewed to have had a care for the succession, in sending for

his Nephew Edward, intitled the Outlaw, with his children, out of Hungary. But Edward, shortly after his arrivall, died, and Edgar his son (surnamed Atheling, to say Prince Edgar) whom hee had by his wife Agatha, daughter of the Emperor Henry the 2. who (either by reason of his youth, which yet was no barre to his right, or being borne and bred a stranger, little / knowing, or knowne to the Kingdome) had his claime neglected vpon the death of this Pious King. Which was Anno 1065. when he had reigned 24. yeares. His corps was interred in the Church of Westminster, which he had newly founded.

Harald the second.

Harald the second (Anno 1065).

ND Harald, son to Earle Godwin (the next day after) was preferred to the Crowne, whether by any title hee might pretend from the Danique Kings, as descended from that Nation (and, as some

report, son to Githa sister to Swaine,) or by meere election of the greater part of the Nobility, wee cannot say: but it seemes, the pressing necessity of the time, that required a more man, to vidergo the burthen of warre, and that trouble. the world was like to fall into, by reason of the claimes now made, both by the Dane, and Norman, cast it suddainly vpon him; as the most eminent man of the Kingdome, both by the experience of his owne deseruings, and the strength also of his owne, and the alliance of his wife Algith, sister of Edwin and Morckar, Earles of Yorkeshire and Chester. Neither did hee faile (but in fortune) to make good this election; taking all the best courses, both for the well ordering of the State, and all prouisions for defence, that a politicke and active Prince could doe. But being to deale in a broken world, where the affections of men were all disioynted, or dasht with the terror of an approaching mischiefe, failing (as vsually is seene in these

publique feares) both in their diligence, and courage to withstand it, soone found more then enough to doe.

The Kings brother Toustaine banished.—His death with the King of Norway.--And the first man, which began to disturbe his new gouernment, was his owne yonger brother Toustaine, who (in the time of the late King Edward, having the government of Northumberland) was for his pride and immanities shewed in those parts, banished the Kingdome; and now by reason of his former conceived hatred against his brother, easily set on by the Duke of Normandy, and Aldouin Baldouin, Earle of Flanders, (whose two daughters the Duke and he had married) assailes first the Isle of Wight, and after sets voon the coast of Kent, whence he was chased by the power of Harald, and forced to withdraw into the North parts; and there seeking to land, was likewise repulsed, by the Earles Morchar and Edwin. Then craues he aid of the Scots, and after of Harald, surnamed Harfager, King of Norway, being then taking in the Orcades and exercising piracy in those parts; whom he induced with all his forces to inuade England. And landing at *Tinmouth* (discomfeiting their first incounters) they marched into the heart of the Kingdome without resist-Neere Stamford, King Harald of England met them with a puissant Army; and after long and eager fight, ended the day with victory, and the death of his brother Toustaine, and the King of Norway.

The Battaile was fought in Sussex, 7. miles from Hastings, vpon Saterday the 14. of October, 1066.—The Kings valor and death.—But from hence was hee called with his wearied and broken forces, to a more fatall businesse in the South. For now William Duke of Normandy (pretending a right to the Crowne of England, by the Testament of the late King Edward his Kinsman; (vpon the advantage of a busie time, and the dis furnishment of those parts) landed at Pemsey, not farre from Hastings in Sussex: neere to which place, was tried by the great Assize of God's iudgement in battell (the right of power)

betweene the English and Norman Nation. A battell (the most memorable of all other) and howsoeuer miserably lost, yet most nobly fought on the part of England; and the many wounds of Harald there slaine, with 60. thousand 9 hundred 74. of English, shew, how much was wrought to have saued their Country from the calamity of forraine seruitude.

And yet, how so great a Kingdome as England then was, could with one blow bee subdued by so small a Prouince as Normandy (in such sort, as it could neuer after come to make any generall head against the Conquerour) might seeme strange; did not the circumstances aforenoted, and other concurrent causes. hereafter to bee declared, give vs faire and probable reasons thereof: Besides, the indisposition of a diseased time, as it is described by such as lived neerest it (William Malmsbury), may give vs great euidence in this examination. For they say, the people of this Kingdome, were (by their beeing secure from their former enemy the Dane, and their long peace; which had held, in a manner, from / the death of King Edmond Ironside, almost fifty yeeres;) grown neglective of Armes, and generally debaushed with luxurie and idlenesse: the Clergie licentious, and onely content with a tumultuarie learning: The Nobility giuen to Gluttony, Venery, and Oppression: The common sort to Drunkennesse, and all disorder: And they say, that in the last action of Harald at Stamford, the brauest men perished, and himselfe growing insolent vpon the victory (retaining the spoyles, without distribution to his souldiers, not invred to be commanded by martiall discipline) made them discontent, and vnruly: and comming to this battell with many mercinary men, and a discontented Army, gaue great occasion to the lamentable losse thereof.

Besides, the *Normans* had a peculiar fight with long bowes, wherewith the *English* (then altogether vnacquainted) were especially ouerthrowne. And yet their owne Writers report, how the maine Battalion of the *English* (consisting of Bils, their chiefe and ancient weapon) held in a body so close lockt

together, as no force could dissolue them; till the *Normans* (faining to flie) drew them to a disordered rout. And so they excuse the fortune of the day.

King Harold buried at Waltham.—His issue.—The body of King Harold, which at the sute of his mother (who sent two Monkes of the Abbey of Waltham to entreate the same of the Conqueror) was after much search, amongst the heapes of the dead found, and interred, in the same Abbey, which himselfe had founded. Hee was a King, who shewes vs nothing but miserie, reigned least, and lost most of any other. He left foure sons, Godwin, Edmond, Magnus, and Wolfe: the two eldest fled away after this battaile into Ireland, and from thence made some attempts vpon the Westerne coasts of England, but to little effect. And here ended the line of the Saxon Kings, about flue hundred yeeres after the first comming in of Hengist, and their plantation in this Kingdome.

And thus haue I in the straightest course (wherein that vneuen compasse of Antiquity could direct me) got ouer the wide, and intricate passage of those times that lay beyond the worke, I purpose more particularly to deliuer. And now,

The Life and Reigne of William the first.

Anno 1066.—Englands territories ouershootes the Ocean.



Come to write of a time, wherein the State of England received an alteration of Lawes, Customes, Fashion, manner of living, Language, writing, with new formes of Fights, Fortifications,

Buildings, and generally an innovation in most things, but Religion: So that from this mutation, which was the greatest it euer had, wee are to begin with a new account of an *England*, more in dominion abroad, more in State, and

ability at home, and of more honour and name in the world, then heretofore: which by beeing thus vndone, was made, as if it were in the Fate thereof, to get more by losing, then otherwise. For as first, the Conquest of the Danes, brought it to the entirest Gouernment it euer possest at home, and made it most redoubted of all the Kingdomes of the North: so did this of the Norman by comming in vpon it, make a way to let out, and stretch the mighty armes thereof ouer the Seas, into the goodly Prouinces of the South: For before these times, the English nation, from the first establishment in this Land, about the space of 500, yeares, neuer made any sally out of the Isle, vpon any other part of the world, but busied at home in a divided State, held a broken Government with the Danes. and of no great regard, it seemes, with other Nations, till Knute led them forth into the Kingdome of Norway, where they first shewed effects of their valour, and what they would be, were they imployed.

But the Normans, having more of the Sun, and civility (by their commixtion with the English) begat smoother fashions, with quicker motions in them then before. And being a Nation free from that dull disease of drinke, wherewith their former Conquerors were naturally infected, induced a more comely temperance, with a neerer regard of reputation and For where as before, the English lived loose, in little homely Cottages, where they spent all their reuenues in good fare, caring for little other gaiety at all. Now after the Norman manner, they build them goodly Churches, and stately houses of stone, prouide better furnishments, erect Castles, and Towers in other sort then before. They inclose Parkes for their private pleasure; being debard the generall liberty of hunting, which heeretofore they enjoyed: whereupon all the termes of building, hunting, tooles of workemen, names of most handy-crafts appertaining to the defences and adornments of life, came all to bee in French. And withall, the Norman habits, and fashion of living, became generally assumed, both in regard of nouelty, and to take away the note of difference, which could not be well lookt on, in that change.¹

The Saxons habit, and Characters first altered.—The Originall of the Normans Roul, or Rou, the first Norman that landed in England.—The History of Normand.—Roul, the first Conqueror of Normandy fro the French, calling it Norman .-And though the body of our language remained in the Saxon, yet it came so altered in the habite of the French tongue, as now we hardly know it, in the ancient forme it had; and not so much as the Character wherein it was written, but was altred to that of the Roman and French, now vsed. to the end we may the better know the man, and the Nation that thus subdued vs; we must take our course vp to the head of their originals. The Normans, we finde to have issued out of Norway & Denmarke, and were of like maners, as the rest of those Northerne countries; which by reason of the apt mixture of their Phlegmatique and Sanguine complexions, with their promiscuous ingendring, without any tye of marriage, yeelded that continuall surchargement of people, as they were forced to vnburthen themselues on other Countries, wheresoeuer their violence could make them roome. And out of this redundancy, Roul, or Rou, a great Commander amongst them, furnished a robustious power, in the time of King Alfrid, and first landed in England (that euer lay in the Roade to all these inuadors) where finding no roome empty, nor any imployment, was content (vpon some reliefe received) to vse his forces other-where; which he did against Rambalt, Duke of Frize, and Reignier Duke of Chaumont, and Hennalt: with whom he had many violent incounters, and committed great spoyles in their Countries. Which done; he passed along the coast of

¹ Malmsbury.—Mauricius, Bisbop of London An. Dom. 1087. new built the Church of S. Paule in London, of stone brought out of Normandie. The Charter of William 1. granted to this Church. Before this time the Churches were most of Timber. William 1. built the white Tower, afterwards walled and incastelled vnderneath, by William 2. and Henry 1.

France, entred the mouth of Seine, and sackt all the Country vp to Roan: where the people having beene lately before miserably afflicted by Hasting (another inuador of the same Nation) were so terrified by the approach of these new forces, that the Archbishop of Roan, by the consent of the people, offered him the obedience of that City, and the Country about, on condition hee would defend them, and minister Iustice according to the Lawes of Christ, and the Customes of the Countrey. For Charles the Simple, then King of France, yeelding no present succour (beeing otherwise imbroiled about the right of his Crowne) gaue him the opportunity to plant in that place, and to grow so powerfull, as shortly after he attempted the Conquest of Paris, and gaue many notable defeits to the French Leaders. So that in the end, Charles was faine to buy his peace with the price of an alliance, and the whole Countrey of Nuestria (or Westrich) which of the Normans, was after called Normandy. And thereupon Roul became a Christian, and baptised, had the name of Robert, given by Robert, brother to Eudes late King of France, who then stood in competition for that Crowne with Charles the Simple; and is said to have vnder-aided Roul secretly, of purpose to make him friend his designes; though after hee vrged it in an article against Charles, the giving away his Country, and the favouring of strangers.

And thus came Roul to establish a State to his posterity, ordering the same with that iudgement and equity, as he left his name in a perpetuall reuerence, and his successors a firme foundation to plant vpon. From him, in a direct line, descended sixe Dukes of Normandy, in the space of 120. yeares: William, 1. Richard, 1. Richard, 2. who had two sons, Richard and Robert, that successively inherited the Dukedome.

Robert, after he had gouerned eight yeares (either meerely for deuotion, which charity ought rather deeme) or expiation for some secret guilt, wherewith his conscience might stand charged, about his brothers death (which because it was

vntimely, might be thought vnnaturall) resolues to visite the Holy Sepulchre. And acquainting his Nobility therewith, was by them much disswaded, in regard he had no issue: and for that (already they said) Alain, Earle of Brittaine, and the Earle of Burgogne, were in contestation, who should succeede him in the Dutchie: so that vpon his death, and their strife, the Country was like to become a prey to the souldier, from which, in conscience he was bound, by his best meanes to secure it. The Duke willed them to be content; I haue (said hee) a little Bastard, of whose worthinesse I haue great hope, and I doubt not but hee is of my begetting: him I will inuest in the Dutchie as mine heire: And from henceforth I pray you take him for your Lord. The Earle of Brittaine (notwithstanding his competition) to shew the affiance I haue in him, I will constitute his gouernour, and Seneschall of Normandie; the King of France shall be his Guardian, and so I leave him to God, and your loyalties.

Shortly after, the Bishops and Barons did their homage to his base sonne, named William, who was the sixt Duke of Normandie after Roule, begotten on Arlette, a meane woman of Falaise. And Duke Robert taking his intended journey, deliuers the Child with his owne hand, to Henry the first, King of France: whom before hee had mainely aided in preserving his Crowne (left him by his father King Roberts Testament) against his elder brother, and his mother Constance, which with a great side of Nobility, stood for the right of Primogeniture, according to the custome of France: And therefore might the more presume (if good turnes done to Princes could weigh so much, as their selfe-respects would not turne the skale) to have had a faire discharge of his trust: and him for a Protector, whose power was best able to bee so. And causing the Childe to doe homage for his Dutchie of Normandy, commits him to his Royall faith; departs his Court, and shortly after his life, in Asia. Whereupon his successor, but nine yeares of age, became obnoxious to all the

miseries that afflict Princes in their pupillage: besides the reproach of his birth; which though his honor and vertue might get ouer, yet lay it euer a barre in his way, and hindred his standing cleere, stood hee neuer so high.

The Nobles of *Normandy*, soone (after his fathers death, by much entreaty, got him out of the *French* Kings hands) thinking the hauing him amongst them, would adde more to his Counsellors, and such as were in office: and the State of a Court, awe his State the better. But soone they found, the hauing his person (without his power) was, but to put them out, into more discord, and faction.

For presently followed the murthering, and poisoning of Gouernors, displacing of Officers; intrusion, supplantation. surprizings, and recouerings of his person, by a Nobilitie, stubborne, haughty, and incompatible of each others precedency or neerenesse. But this was the least, as beeing done all for his person. Now followed more dangerous practices against His right was quarrelled by competitors, cleere in bloud, and great in meanes. Whereof the first (though farthest off in descent) was Roger de Tresny, bringing a faire line from Roule, and much proofe of his own worth, by hauing gotten great experience, in the Sarazine warre in Spaine: whereby vpon his returne, entertaining and feasting the great, and especiall men of worth; hee was growne powerfull, well followed, and beloued of many: in so much that at length, measuring his owne height, hee vrges, What wrong it was that a Bastard, and a Childe, should be preferred before him, in the succession of the Dutchie, his Ancestors had nobly gotten: and what a shame the Normans (a people of that worth) would endure to be so gouerned; seeing they had others of the renowned race of Roule, William, and Richard, Dukes of Normandy, of a lawfull and direct line, if they held him vnworthy to inherite the State. And beeing impatient (as is ambition, that euer rides without raines) of any long delay, brings his claime to a strong battaile in the field, which by the valiancie of Roger de Beaumount, was vtterly

defeited, and himselfe with his two brethren slaine. Whereby all feare that way was extinguished, and the reputation of the Duke and his, so much advanced, as the King of France (notwithstanding his tutelary charge) tooke from him the Castle of Thuilliers, and demolisht it, pretending the insolencies committed there, by the Garrisons, vpon his subjects: and makes shew as yet, onely to keepe things euen. But long it was not, ere hee plainely bewrayed his minde; ayding in person William Earle of Arques, brother to Duke Robert, and son to Richard the Second, making his claime to the Dutchie, and brings a mighty Army to succour Arques, assieged by Conte Guiffard, the Dukes Generall; who (by a stratagem so trayned the French into an Ambush) as hee ouerthrew their whole power, and returnes the King to Paris, with great losse, and dishonour: Leauing Argues (the first Arch of triumph) to this Conqueror, not yet arrived to seauenteene yeares of age; and the discomfeited competitor to seeke his Fortunes with Eustace, Earle of Bologne, finding vpon his returne little grace in Court; where fortune euer alters credit and few regard men ouerthrowne.

A Conspiracy discouered strangely.—This storme ouer-past another succeeds more dangerous; there liued with Duke William, a young Lord of like yeares, named Guy sonne to Regnalt, Earle of Borgogne and Alix daughter to Richard the second; who comming to bee sensible of his interest, was aduised by some stirring spirits, to attempt for the Duchie; which they sayd appertayned to him in right, and was wrongfully vsurped by the Bastard: And to aduance his purpose, there happens deadly hostility betweene two of the greatest Lords of Normandy (Viconte Neele, and the Earle of Bessin) whose debate, Duke William did not, or could not pacific. This Guy (lately made Earle of Bryorn, and Vernon), interposed himselfe to compose this discord; and by the aduice of Grimoult de Plessis (a principall moouer in this worke) so wrought, that either of these Lords, turned the poynt

of their malice vppon him, who in their quarrell fauouring neyther, made both to hate him; and easily conspire with Guy to murther him at vnawares: Which they had done, had not a certaine Foole (whom, for beeing held a naturall, they suspected not) noting their preparations, got away in the dead of the night to Valogne, knocking and crying at the Gate, till he was admitted to the Dukes presence; whom he willed in hast to flye, or hee would bee murthered. The Duke seeing the Foole in this affright, thought dangers were not to bee weighed by the worth of the Reporter, but by their likelyhood; and knowing his Fortune was liable vnto all suddaine assasinations; instantly takes Horse, and all alone postes to Fallaise, his especiall place of strength: on the way, his Horse beeing tyred, about breake of day, he comes to a little village called Rye, where, by good Fortune, the Gentleman of the place, was standing at his doore, ready to goe abroad; of whom the Duke requires the next way to Fallaise: The Gentleman perceiuing who hee was (though as then very vnwilling to bee knowne) humbly craues the cause of his so strange and vntimely Riding alone: The Duke seeing himselfe discouered, tells the occasion: The Gentleman (whose name was Robert de Rye) furnishes him with a fresh Horse, and sends two of his sonnes to conduct him the neerest way to Fallaise: No sooner was hee gone out of sight, but after post the Conspirators, enquiring of the same Gentleman, whether hee saw the Duke; who answered, that hee was gone a little before, such a way (shewing them a divers path) and rode on with them, offering his service to Conte Bessin; where they made themselves so powerfull, as the Duke withdrew him to Roan, and from thence to the King of France, to craue his ayde, putting him in minde of the faithfull service his Father had done him: how hee was his Homager, vnder his tutelary charge, and had no other Sanctuary of succour to flye vnto, in this case of his mutinous and turbulent Nobility; the effect whereof was of dangerous consequence to that Crowne. And so farre vrged

the importancie of reliefe, as the King at length (who seemes was yet content to haue him bee, though not too strong, and peraduenture rather him then his Competitor Guy de Burgogne) ayded him in Person with a puissant Army against these Competitors, whom they found in the vale of Dunes with as great power and resolution to bid them battaile, as they to assaile them. Here one Guilleson, Vncle to Viconte Neel by the mother, forced his Horse into the Battailion of the French, and made at the King, and strake him downe with his Launce: Which Conte Saint Paule perceiuing, hastes to encounter him with that Violence, as both fell to the Earth; but Guilleson soone gets vp, and though his Horse was slayne vnder him, by Castillon, he escapes out of the presse, and after fled into Apulia with others. The King recouered, and more inkindled with this affront, spared not his Person, to auenge his wrath. Duke William likewise (as it stood him most vppon) shewed effects of an all-daring and Magnanimous Prince. And yet had not Ralph de Tesson beene false to his fellowes to recouer faith with him, he had not carried (as he did) the victory.

After which, divers of the Conspirators (who had too great hearts to yeeld) passed the Mountaines into Italy, to Robert Guiscard their Country-man (who of a private Gentleman, was now by his prowesse, become Lord of Apulia, Calabria, and Sicile, within the space of twelve yeares:) to whom they were exceeding welcome, and especially Guilleson, for having incountred with a King in the middest of his Battaile; which made him of wider note. But the better to know, what starre these Norman spirits had, as borne for the revolutions of those times, it shall not lye out off our way to shewe how they first came into Italy vpon this occasion.

There happened a debate betweene one Osmond Drengot and William Repostell, Gentlemen both valiant, and of great Parentage in Normandy, who as they hunted in the Forrest of Rouvery (neere Rouan) with Duke Robert; Drengot slew

Repostell, in his presence; and fearing the fury of the Duke, and the Friends of the slayne, fled to Rome, and so to Naples, where hee, with his small Company of Normans that followed him, was entertayned of the Duke de Benevento, to serue him against the Sarasins, and Affricans, which miserably infested Apulia and Calabria, at that time. The bruite of which entertainment was no sooner spred in Normandy, but divers Valiant Gentlemen and Souldiers, allured with the hope of good Fortune, passed the Alpes, got to their Nation, and so wrought, as they grew formidable to these Barbarians, and in the end, vtterly chaced and extinguished them. The Calabrians and Apulians, seeing themselves ridde of their enemies, would haue beene glad likewise (their turne serued) to bee rid of their Friends, and eyther vsing them more vnkindely then of custome, or they presuming more of desert, turned their Swords vppon their Intertayners. And first got a little place, which they fortified for the Rendeuous, and receipt of booty: And so Augmenting still their Winnings, obtayned Territories, Cities, and Fortresses. And after the Death of Drengot, succeeded other Gallant Leaders, and at length Tancred, Signior de Hauteuille, in Constantine, with his twelue sons, came into Apulia. of whom his third son Robert, surnamed Guiscard, attained the commaund, and was a man of faire stature, cleare iudgement, and indefatigable courage. Hee Conquered all Apulia, Calabria, and Sycile, passed the Sea into Greece; relieued Michael Diocrisius, Emperour of Constantinople, defeited Nicephorus that vsurped the Empire, and shortly after Alexius attempting the like; and in one yeare vanquished two Emperours, the one of Greece, the other of Germany: swayed the whole Estate of Italy, and was in a faire way to haue attayned the Empire of Constantinople for himselfe, had hee not dyed in the expedition.

Beomond his eldest son, by his first wife, became after Prince of Antioch, and is much renowned in the holy Warres. Roger (of his second marriage with the daughter of the Prince of

Salerno) succeeded in the States of Italy, as more theirs by birth and blood. His daughters were all highly married; Thus from a private Gentleman, came this famous Norman to leaue a succession of Kings and Princes after him, and dyed the same yeare as did this William, his concurrent in the loue and fauour of Fortune. And to this man fled all the discontented and desperate Normans during these civill Wars the Duke had with so many Competitors; and euery ouerthrow hee gaue them, augmented Guiscards forces in Italy; and especially this battaile of Danes; which ended not the Dukes trauailes, for Guy de Burgogne escaping the fight, fortified the Castles of Briorn and Verneuille, but in the end was faine to render them both, and himselfe, to the Dukes mercy, and became his pencioner, who was his Competitor; which act of clemency in the Duke, brought in many other to submit themselues; whereby they re-obtayned their Signiories, but had their Castles demolished.

Hauing ended this worke, new occasion to keepe him in action, was ministred by Geoffry Martle Earle of Aniou, who warring vpon the Poictouins, incroached also vppon his neighbours States, and vsurped Alenson, Dampfront, and Passais, members of the Dutchy of Normandy: Which to recouer, the Duke leauies an Army, and first got Alenson, where (for that he was opprobriously scorned by the besiedged, who, when they saw him, would cry La Pel, La Pel, in reproach of the basenesse of his mother, and the Trade of the place of his birth) hee shewed extreame cruelty. Then layes hee siedge to Dampfront; which to relieue, Count Martell comes with his greatest forces: and the Duke to take notice of his strength, sends out Roger de Montgomery, with two other Knights to deliuer this message to the Earle, That if he came to victuall Dampfront, hee should finde him there the Porter to keep him out: Whereto the Earle returnes this answer, Tell the Duke. to morrow by daybreake, hee shall have me there on a white horse, ready to give him the Combat, and I will enter Dampfront if I can: And to the end he shall know me, I will weare a shield, without any device.

Roger replies, Sir you shall not neede to take that paines, for to morrow morning, you shall have the Duke in this place, mounted on a bay horse; And that you may know him, he shall weare on the poynt of his Launce, a streamer of taffata, to wipe your face. Herewith returning, each side prepares for the morning: When the Earle, busie in ordering his battailes, was aduertised by two Horse-men, that came crossing the field, how Dampfronte, for certaine was rendered to the Duke; whereupon in great rage, hee presently departs with his Army: whereof a part, was (in passing a streight) cut off, by Viconte Neel, who for that seruice, redeemed his former offence, and was restored to the Dukes fauour, whom hee euer after faithfully serued. Those of Damfronte, desperate of succour, presently yeeld themselues to the Duke, who with his engines and forces remooues from thence to Hambrieres, a frontire Towne of Count Martels, and by the way (had it not beene by himselfe discouered) hee had beene vtterly ouerthrowne by an ambush, which gaue him much to doe, and lost him very many braue men. Wherewith hee grew so inraged, that hee rushed into the troupes of his enemies; made at Count Martell, strake him downe with his sworde, claue his helmet, and cut off an eare: but yet hee escaped out of the preasse, though divers were taken, and the Aniouins vtterly defeited.

The Duke Marries Matilde daughter of Baldouin the fift, Earle of Flaunders.—Whilst thus hee was trauailed with an outward enemy, two more, were found at home, to conspire against him: William Guelan, Earle of Mortagne, descended from Richard the second: And William Earle of Eu, and Montreul, issuing from William, the brother of the same Richard, and of Esselin, Countesse of Montreul: the first vpon suspition, the other vpon proofe, of an intention, was banished, and their estates seized: the Earledome of Mortaigne hee gaue to Robert: that of Eu to Odo (after Bishop of Bayeux) both his bretheren

by the mother. These assaults from abroad, these scornes, conspiracies, and vnder-workings at home, he passed before hee was full 22 yeares of age: and thus his enemies made him, that sought to vndoe him. But now, more to vnderset and strengthen his State, against future practises, hee convokes an assemblie of his Prelates, Barrons, and Gentlemen, causing them to receive their oath of Fealtie, and raze their Castles; which done, hee married Matilde, the daughter of Baldouin the fift, Earle of Flaunders, but not without contrist and trouble: for his Vncle Mauger, Arch-bishop of Roan, excommunicates him, for matching within the forbidden degrees of kindred, she being daughter to Elinor, daughter to Richard the second, and so his fathers sisters daughter. To expiate for which offence (vpon a dispensation from Pope Victor) they were injoyned the building of certaine hospitals for blinde people: and two abbyes, the one for men, the other for women: which were erected at Caen.

The reasons why the king of France warres with the Normans. -This match, and the ouer-marching his enemies, set him so high a marke of enuey in the eye of France, which naturally loued not the Normans, (whom in reproach they vsually called Trewans) as they easily incensed their King, who of himselfe was forward enough, to abate a power, growne so out of proportion with the rest of the Princes of his Dominions, to finde a quarrell (which confiners easily doe) to set vppon him: and to make it looke the fairer, pretends to correct the insolencies of the Normans committed vppon his Territories, and to releiue Count Martell opprest by the Duke; besides alleadging, It concerned him in honour and iustice, to have that Province, which held of his Crowne, to bee governed by a Prince of lawful blood, according to Christian order and Lawes Ecclesiasticall: And therefore resolueth vtterly to exterminate the Duke, and establish a legittimate Prince in the Duchie. For which effect, two armies are gathered from all parts of his Kingdome; the one sent along the river

Sein, the other into the Country of Bessen, as meaning to encompasse him.

The defeiture of the Army of the King of France by the Normans.—The Duke likewise deuides his forces into two parts, sends his brother Odo, Earl of Eu, Walter Guifford Earle of Longueuill, and others with the one, to the Countrie of Caux; himselfe with the other takes towards Eureux (to make head to the King that was at Mante) and withdrawes all cattle and provisions out of the flat Country, into Cities and Fortresses. for their owne store, and disfurnishment of the enemie. Kings army marching from Beauuois to Mortimer, and finding there a fat Country full of all prouisions, betooke them to make good cheere, and rests there all that night; thinking the Norman forces were yet with the Duke at Eureux; which the Army in Caux conducted by Otho vnderstanding, marched all night, and by breake of day gaue them so hot an alarum, and so sudaine, as put them all in a rout, leaving horse, and armour, and all to the assaylants; who made such a destruction of them, that of forty thousand, not the fourth part escaped.

With this defeiture, the King of France is againe returned home, with great rage and griefe, and the Duke, with the redemption of the prisoners, recouers his peace, and the Castle of Thuilliers, taken from him in his vnder-age. Count Martell though much dismayed with the Kings ouerthrow, yet leaves not to make some attempts for the recovering his Townes; but with no successe. The Duke hee saw was too well beloved and followed, for him to doe any good without a stronger armey. Wherefore the next Spring, he goes againe importune the King of France, to aide him against the Duke: who (he said) Was now growne so insolent upon this peace, and the victory he had stolne, and not wonne, that there was no living for his neighboures neere him: Besides, the Normans had the French in such derision, and base esteeme, as they made their act (at Mortimer) their onely sport, and the subject of their rimes: as

if a King of France, vpon the losse of a few men, was retired, and durst not breake a dishonorable peace.

The Army of the King of France overthrowne at Varneville by the Normans.-With which instigation, and being stung with the touch of reproach, hee raises another Army far mightier then before, wherein were three Dukes, and twelue Earles, and notwithstanding the solemne peace made, and so lately sworne with the Duke, hee enters Normandy in the haruest time, ouerrunnes and spoiles all the Country, along the coast to Bessin: from whence marching to Bayeux, and Caen, with purpose to passe the river Diue at Varneuille, to destroy the Countries of Ange, Liseux, and Roumoys, euen to Roan, and finding the case-way long, and the bridge narrow, caused his vant-gard to passe ouer first: and to secure his Arier-gard, conducted by the Duke of Berry, himselfe stayes behinde in *Caen*, till his people, and their carriages were passed. Duke *William* (who all this while, stores his fortresses with men and victual) makes himselfe as strong in the Towne of Fallaise, as he could; hath no Army in the field, but a running camp to be ready to take all aduantages: lets the fury of the storme spend it selfe, and having aduertisement of this passage, marched all night with ten thousand men, and in the morning earely, sets ypon the Arier-gard, with so sudaine a cry and fury, as they who were before on the Case-way hearing this noyse behind, thrust forward their fellowes, hasting to get ouer the bridge, with such a crowd and presse, as they brake it, and many were drowned in the riuer. They who were got ouer, could not returne to ayde the rest; nor the King (by reason of the Marshes on both sides) yeeld any succor to his people; but stood a spectator of their slaughter, and the taking of sixe of his Earles, of whom one was the exiled Earle of Eu, whom the King (fauouring his great worth) had made Count De Soissons.

The griefe of this ouerthrow, shortly after gaue the King of France his death, and the Duke of Normandy a ioyfull peace,

which hee nobly imployed in the ordering and adorning his State: building, endowing, and decking Monasteries and Churches: gathering reliques from all parts to furnish his Abbyes at *Caen* (where he also erected a Tombe for himselfe and his wife) feasting and rewarding his Nobles and men of worth: whereby he so possest him of the hearts of his people generally, as they were intirely his, for what hee would.

The Duke comes to visit his kinsman.—Harold goeth ouer into Normandy.—His entertainment.—His promises to the Duke.—During this calme of his life, hee makes a journy ouer into England, as if to visite King Edward his kinsman: who, in regard of the preservation, and breeding hee had in Normandy, by Duke Richard the second (Grandfather to them both) gaue him most Royall entertainement: And here he shewed himselfe; and here (no doubt) hee found matter for his hopes to worke on. In this enterview he discouered England, being to be presupposed, he came not to gather cockle-shels, on the shore. Nor was it long after ere Harold (whether of purpose to ratifie some paction closely contriued betwixt them: or by casualty of weather driven into France, and so faine to make it seeme a journey of purpose to the Duke, is not certainely deliuered) was gallantly entertained in Normandy, presented with all shewes of Armes, brought to Paris, and there likewise feasted in that Court. And at his returne to Rouen, something was concluded, either in likelyhood to deuide the Kingdom betweene them, or that Harold being a coastdweller, and had the strongest hand in the State, should let in the Duke, and do his best to help him to the Crowne, vpon conditions of his owne greatnesse, or whatsoeuer it was; promises were made and confirmed by oathes vpon the Euangelists, and all the sacred Reliques at Rouen, in the presence of divers great persons. Besides for more assurance, Harold was fyanced to Adeliza, the Dukes daughter, and his brother Wolnot, left a pledge for the performance.

The Dukes speech to the assembly of the States of Nor-

mandy.—The subtill proceeding of the Duke with his Nobles. -This intercourse made the trans-action of the fate of England, and so much was done, either by King Edward or Harold (though neithers act, if any such were, was of power to preiudice the State, or alter the course of a right succession) as gaue the Duke a colour to claime the Crowne, by a donation made by Testament, which being against the Law and Custome of the Kingdome, could be of no validity at all. For the Crowne of England being held, not as Patrimoniall, but in a succession by remotion (which is a succeeding to another place) it was not in the power of King Edward to collate the same by any dispositive and testamentary will, the right descending to the next of blood, onely by the Custome and Law of the Kingdome: For the Successour is not sayd properly to be the heire of the King, but the Kingdome, which makes him so, and cannot bee put from it by any act of his Predecessour. But this was onely his claime; the right was of his owne making, and no otherwise. For as soone as hee had heard of the death of King Edward, with the Election, and Coronation of Harold, (for they came both together) hee assembles the States of Normandy, and acquaints them with the right he had to England, Soliciting an extention of their vimost meanes for his recovery thereof, and avengement of the periurd vsurper Harold; shewing them apparant probability of successe, by infallible intelligence hee had from the State. his strong party therein, with the debility and distraction of the people: What glory, wealth, and greatnesse, it would adde to their Nation, the obtaining of such a Kingdome, as was that opportunely layd open for them, if they apprehended the present All which remonstrances notwithstanding, could induce but very few to like of this attempt, and those such who had long followed him in the warres, exhausted their estates, and content to runne vpon any aduenture that might promise likelyhood of aduancement. The rest were of diners opinions: Some, that it was sufficient to hold and defend their

owne Country; without hazarding themselues, to conquer others; and these were men of the best ability: others were content to contribute, but so sparingly, as would little aduance the businesse: and for the most part they were so tyred with the former warres, and so desirous to embrace the blessing of peace, as they were vnwilling to vndergoe a certaine trouble, for an vncertaine good. And with these oppositions, or faint offers, the Dukes purpose, at first, had so little way, as did much perplex him: At length, seeing this protraction, and difficulty in generall: hee deales with his neerest and most trusty friends in particular, being such as he knew affected the glory of action, and would aduenture their whole estates with him. As William fitz Auber, Conte de Bretteuille, Gualter Guifford Earle of Longueuille, Roger de Beaumont, with others, especially his owne brothers, Odo Bishop of Bayeux, and Robert Earle of Mortaigne: these in full assembly he wrought to make their offers: which they did in so large a proportion; and especially William fitz Auber (who made the first offer, to furnish forty Ships with men and munition; the Bishop of Bayeux forty, the Bishop of Mans thirty, and so others, according, or beyond their abilities) as the rest of the assemblie, doubting if the action succeeded without their helpe (the Duke arryuing to that greatnesse) would beare in minde, what little minde they shewed to aduance his desires, beganne to contribute more largely. The Duke, finding them yeelding, though not in such sort as was requisite for such a worke; dealt with the Bishops, and great men apart, so effectually. as at length hee got of them seuerally, which of altogether hee could neuer haue compassed; and causing each mans contribution to bee registred, inkindled such an emulation amongst them, as they who lately would doe nothing, now striued who should doe most.

The French likewise ayde the Duke.—And not onely wan hee the people of his owne Prouinces, to vndertake this action, but drew by his faire perswasions and large promises,

most of the greatest Princes and Nobles of France, to aduenture their persons, and much of their estate with him: as Robert fitz Haruays, Duke of Orleance, the Earles of Brittaine, Ponthieu, Bologne, Poictou, Mayne, Neuers, Hiesms, Aumal, Le Signior de Tours, and euen his mortall enemy Martel, Earle of Aniou, became to bee as forward as anv. All which, hee sure could neuer haue induced, had not his vertues and greatnesse gained a wide opinion and reputation amongst them. Although in these advancements and turnes of Princes, there is a concurrency of dispositions, and a constitution of times prepared for it: yet is it strange, that so many mighty men of the French Nation, would aduenture their lives and fortunes to adde England to Normandy, to make it more then France, and so great a Crowne to a Duke, who was too great for them already. But where mutations are destined, the counsels of men must bee corrupted, and there will fall out all aduantages to serue that businesse.

The reason of the Dukes power.—The King of France, who should have strangled this disseigne in the birth, was a child, and vnder the curature of Baldouin, Earle of Flanders, whose daughter the Duke had married, and was sure to have rather furtherance then any opposition that way: Besides, to amuze that Court, and dazell a young Prince, he promised faithfully, if hee conquered this Kingdome; to hold it of that King, as he did the Dutchie of Normandy, and do him homage for the same; which would adde a great glory to that Crowne. Then was he before-hand with Pope Alexander (to make religion giue reputation and auowment to his pretended right) promising likewise to hold it of the Apostolique Sea, if he preuailed in his enterprize. Whereupon the Pope sent him a Banner of the Church, with an Agnus of Gold, and one of the haires of Saint Peter. The Emperour Henry 4. sent him a Prince of Almaine with forces. but of what name, or his number, is not remembred: so that we see it was not Normandy alone that subdued England, but

a collected power out of all France and Flanders with the aydes of other Princes. And by these meanes, made he good his vndertaking; and within eight moneths was ready furnished with a powerfull Army at Saint Valery in Normandy, whence hee transported the same into England in 896 ships, as some write. And this was the man, and thus made to subdue England.

1066. Anno Reg. 1. Reason for the yealding of the Clergie. -And now having gotten, the great and difficult battaile, before remembred, at Hastings, the foureteenth of October 1065. he marched without any opposition to London, where Edwin and Morchar, Earles of Northumberland, and Mercland (brothers of eminent dignity and respect in the Kingdome) had laboured with all their power to stirre the hearts of the people for the conservation of the State, and establishing Edgar Atheling, the next of the Royall issue, in his right of the Crowne: whereunto other of the Nobility had likewise consented; had they not seene the Bishops auerse or wauering. For, as then, to the Clergie, any King (so a Christian) was all one: they had their Prouince apart, deuided from secular domination: and of a Prince (though a stranger) who had taken vp so much of the world before hand, vppon credit and fame of his piety and bounty, they could not but presume well for their estate: and so were content to give way to the present Fortune.

What mooued the Nobles to yeeld.—The Nobility, considering they were so borne, and must haue a King: not to take him (that was of power to make himselfe) would shew more of passion then prouidence: and to be now behind hand to receive him, with more then submission, was as if to withstand: which (with the distrust of each others faith) made them strive and run headlong, who / should be first to preoccupate the grace of servitude, and intrude them into forraine subjection.

The Commons (like a strong vessell that might haue beene for good vse) were hereby left, without a sterne, and could not

moue irregularly. So that all estates in generall either corrupted with new hopes, or transported with feare, forsooke themselues, and their distressed Country. Vppon his approach to London, the Gates were all set open: the Arch-bishop of Canterbury, Stigand, with other Bishops, the Nobility, Magistrates, and People, rendring themselues in all obedience vnto him: and hee returning plausible protestation of his future Gouernment, was on Christmas day, then next following, Crowned King of England, at Westminster, by Aldred, Archbishop of Yorke, for that Stigand was not held Canonically inuested in his Sea; and yet thought to have beene a forward moouer of this alteration.

The Coronation and Oath of William 1.-King Williams submission to the orders of the Kingdome of England.— Heere, according to the accustomed forme, at his Coronation, the Bishops and Barons of the Realme, tooke their oaths, to be his true and loyall subjects, and he reciprocally (beeing required thereunto by the Arch-bishop of Yorke) made his personall oath, before the Altar of Saint Peter, To defend the Holy Church of God, and the Rectors of the same: To gouerne the Vniuersall People, subject vnto him, justly: To establish equall Lawes, and to see them duly executed. Nor did hee euer claime any power by Conquest, but as a regular Prince, submitted himselfe to the orders of the Kingdome: desirous rather to haue his Testamentary Title (howsoeuer weake) to make good his succession, rather then his sword. And though the stile of Conqueror by the flattery of the time, was after given him: hee shewed by all the course of his gouernment hee assumed it not: introducing none of all those alterations (which followed) by violence, but a milde gathering vpon the disposition of the State, and the occasions offered, and that by way of reformation. And now taking Hostages for his more security. and order for the defence and gouernment of his Kingdome, at the opening of the Spring next, hee returnes into Normandy, so to settle his affaires there, as they might not distract him

from his businesse in *England*, that required his whole powers.

King William returnes into Normandy with the chiefe Nobility of England.—And to leave heere all behind him, hee commits the rule of the Kingdome, to his brother the Bishop of Bayeux, and to his Cosin Fitz (or Oserne) Auber, whom hee had made Earle of Hereford; taking with him all the chiefe men of England, who were likest to be heads to a reuolt: As Edgar Atheling, the Archbishop Stigand, lately discontented: Edwin, and Morchar, with many other Bishops and Noblemen: Besides, to vnburthen his charge, and dis-impester his Court; hee tooke backe with him all the French Aduenturers, and such as were men, rewarding them as farre as his treasure would extend, and the rest he made vp in faire promises.

In his absence, which was all that whole Summer, nothing was here attempted against him, but onely that *Edric*, surnamed the *Forrester*, in the County of *Hereford*, called in the Kings of the *Welsh*, to his ayde, and forraged only the remote borders of that Country: The rest of the Kingdome stood quiet, expecting what would become of that new world, wherein as yet they found no great alteration, their Lawes and liberties remayning the same they were before, and might hope by this accession of a new Prouince; the State of *England* would be but inlarged in dominion abroad, and not impayred in profit at home, by reason the Nation was but small, and of a plentifull and not ouer-peopled Country, likely to impester them.

King William returnes into England.—Hauing disposed his affayres of Normandy, he returnes towards winter, into England, where he was to satisfie three sorts of men; First, such Aduenturers, with whom hee had not yet cleared: Secondly, those of his owne people, whose merits or neerenesse, looked for recompence, whereof the number being so great, many must have their expectation fed, if not satisfied: Thirdly, the people of this Kingdome, by whom hee must now subsist: For beeing not able with his owne Nation so to impeople the same, as to hold

and defend it (if hee should proceed to an extirpation of the naturall Inhabitants) hee was likewise to giue them satisfaction.

Wherein, he had more to do, then in his battell at Hastings; seeing all remunerations, with supplies of money, must be raised out of the stocke of this Kingdome, which could not but be irkesome to the State in generall, and all preferments and dignities conferred on his, to be either by vacancies, or displacing others, which must needs breed very feeling grieuances in particular. And yet wee finde no great men thrust out of their roomes, but such as put themselues out, by reuolting, after his establishment, and their fealty giuen; as appeares by the controuersie betweene Warren the Norman, and Sherburn of Sherburn Castle in Norfolke (Cambden Norf.), which Castle, though the King had given to Warren, yet (when Sherburne alledged, How he neuer bare Armes against him: that hee was his subject as well as the other, and held his Lands by that law which he had established amongst all his subjects, the King gaue judgement against Warren, and commanded, that Sherburn should hold his Land in peace. So that it seemes, hee contented himselfe and his, for the time, onely with what he found heere ready, and with filling vp their places, who were slaine in the battaile; or fled, as many were, with the sonnes of Harald out of the Kingdome (M.S.). Such Gentlemen as he could not presently preferre, and had a purpose to aduance, hee dispersed abroad into Abbeyes, there to liue till places fell out for them: and 24. he sent to the Abbey of Eley: whereby he not onely lessened the multitude of attendants and suitors at Court; eased that eye-sore of strangers, but also had them a watch ouer the Clergie, who then were of great and eminent power in the Kingdome; and might preuaile with the people.

1067. Anno Reg. 2. The English Nobility forsake the Kingdome.—The King of Scots enters league with the English Nobility and married Edgars sister.—But the English Nobility, incompatible of these new occurrences; found notwithstanding, such a disproportion of grace, and darkning of their dignities,

by the interposition of so many, as must needes lessen their splendour; that many of the chiefest, doubting to be more impayred in honour and estate, conspired together, and fled some into Scotland, and some into Denmarke, to try if by ayde from abroad, they might recouer themselues, and their fortunes againe at home. Amongst which, the chiefe was Edgar Atheling (tearmed Englands Dearling, which shewed the peoples zeale to his blood,) who with his mother Agatha, and his two sisters, Margaret and Christin, intending to retyre into Hungary (their natiue Countrey) were driven by tempest on the coast of Scotland, where they were in all Hospitable manner entertained by Malcolin the third, whose former sufferings in his exile, had taught him to compassionate others like distresses; and whom it concerned now to looke to his owne, his neighbours house beeing thus on fire: and to foster a party against so dangerous an incommer, that was like to thrust them all out of doore. Which induced him not onely to entertaine this Prince, dispossest of his right, but to enter league with him for the publike safety; And to inchaine it the stronger, he takes to wife Margaret, the sister of Edgar, (a Lady indued with all blessed vertues) by whom the bloud of our ancient Kings was preserued, and conjoyned with the Norman in Henry the second, and so became English againe. Vnto Edgar in Scotland, repayred the Earles Edwin and Morchar, Hereward, Gospatric, Siward, with others: and shortly after Stigand and Aldred, Arch-bishops, with divers of the Clergie: who in the third yeare of this Kings reigne (1068. Anno Reg. 3), raised very great commotions in the North, beyond Humber, and wrought most egarly to recouer their lost Country: but being now too late, and the occasion not taken before the setling of the gouernment, whilst it was new, and branling, they preuailed nothing, but gaue aduantage to the Conquerour, to make himselfe more then hee was: For all conspiracies of Subjects, if they succeed not, aduance the Soueraigntie: and nothing gaue roote to the Norman planting heere, more then the petty reuolts made

by discattered troupes, in seuerall parts, begun without order, and followed without resolution; whereas nothing could be done for a generall recouery, but by a generall sublevation of the people, for which all wary preuention was vsed, and they had waites enough laid on, to hold them downe. And these Lords imbroiled themselves and held him doing in the North, yet hee having all the South parts setled vnder his dominion, with well practised and prepared Forces, there could bee little hope of Good, whilst all their great Estates furnisht the Normans, both in state and meanes to ruine them. The Earledome, and the Lands which Edwin held in Yorkeshire, were given to Alain, Earle of Brittaine, kinsman to the Conqueror; The Archbishopricke of Canterbury, confer'd on Lanfranc, Abbot of Caen: That of Yorke, on Thomas his Chaplain, and all the rest both of the Clergy and others, which were out, had their places within, supplied by Normans.

And after King William had appeased a commotion in the West, which the sonnes of Harold, with forces out of Ireland had raised, and also repressed the rebellion of Excester and Oxford, he takes his journey in person Northward with all expedition (lest the enemy there, should grow too high in heart and opinion, vppon the great slaughter of his people, made at Yorke; and the defeiture of his brother and Lieutenant, Robert Earle of Mortaine, slaine with seauen hundred Normans at Durham:) where, at his first comming he so wrought, that hee eyther discomfeited, or corrupted the Generalls of the Danieque forces (newly arrived to ayde the Lords, sent by Swaine, King of Denmarke, vnder the conduct of his two sonnes, Harold and Knute, with a Nauy of three hundred sayle:) and after sets vpon the Army of the Lords, weakened both in strength and hope, by this departure of their Confederates, and puts them to flight. Which done, hee vtterly wasted, and layd desolate, all that goodly Country betweene Yorke and Durham, the space of 60 miles, as it might be no more a succour to the enemy; And the like

course he used on all the Coasts where any apt landings lay for inuasions; and so returnes to London.

Most of the Lords after his defeit, came in, vpon publique faith given them, and were conducted to Barkhamsted by the Abbot Fredricke; where, vpon their submission and Oath of Allegeance re-taken, they had their pardon, and restitution of grace granted by the King, who it seemes was so willing to acquiet them, that againe hee takes his personall Oath before the Archbishop Lanfrancke, and the Lords, To observe the ancient Lawes of the Realme, established by his Noble Predecessors, the Kings of England, and especially those of Edward the Confessor. Whereupon these stormy dispositions held calme a while.

1074. Anno Reg. 8.—But long it was not ere many of these Lords (whether vppon intelligence of new hopes, from Prince Edgar (who was still in Scotland,) or growne desperate of new displeasure at home, finding small performance of promises made, rupture of Oath, and all other respects, brake out againe. The Earle Edwyn, making towards Scotland, was murthered by his owne people. The Lords Morchar and Hereward, betooke them to the Isle of Elie, meaning to make good that place for that Winter; whether also repaired the Earle Syward, and the Bishop of Durham out of Scotland, But the King who was no time-giver vnto growing dangers, besets all the Isle with flat boates on the East, and makes a bridge of two miles long on the West, and safely brought in his people vppon the enemy, who seeing themselues surprized; yeelded all to the Kings mercy, except Hereward, who desperately marched with his people through the Fens; and recouered Scotland: The rest were sent to divers Prisons, where they died, or remayned during the Kings life.

Those Lords who persisted loyall vpon this last submission, were all employed and well graced with the King, as *Edric* the Forrester (and first that rebelled in his Reigne) was held in cleare trust, and neere about him. *Gospatrice* he made Earle

of Northumberland, and sent him against Malcolin, who in this time, subdues the Countries of Tisdall, Cleucland, and Cumberland: Waltheof, sonne to the Earle Syward, hee held so worthy to be made his, as hee married him to his Neece Iudith, though hee had beene a principall Actor in the Northerne commotion (and in defending the City of Yorke against him, is sayd to have striken off the heads of divers Normans, one by one, as they entred a breach, to the admiration of all about him); shewing therein that true touch of the noblest nature, to love vertue even in his enemies.

And now seeing Scotland to bee the especiall retraite for all Conspirators, and discontented in his Kingdome, yeelding them continuall succour, and assistance, and where his competitor Edgar lived, to beget and nurse perpetuall matter for their hopes, and at hand for all advantages; hee enters that Kingdome with a puissant Army; which, encountring with more necessities then forces, soone grew tyred, and both Kings, considering of what difficulties the Victory would consist, were willing to take the safest way to their ends, and vppon faire overtures, to conclude a peace; Articling for the bounds of each Kingdome, with the same title of Dominion, as in former times: All delinquents, and their partakers generally pardoned.

Scotland before this time generally spake a kind of Irish.— Titles of honour in Scotland.—Heere with the vniuersall turne of alteration thus wrought in England, Scotland (being a part of the body of this Isle) is noted to have likewise had a share; and as in the Court of England, the French tongue became generally spoken; so in that of Scotland did the English, by reason of the multitude of this Nation, attending both the Queene and her brother Edgar, and daily repayring theither for their safety, and combination against the Common enemy: of whom divers, abandoning their native distressed Countrey, were by the bounty of that King preferred; and there planted, spread their off-spring into many noble families, remayning to

this day: The titles for distinguishing degrees of honour; as of Duke, Earle, Baron, Rider or Knight, were then (as is thought) first introduced; and the nobler sort began to be called by the title of their Signories (according to the French manner) which before bare the name of their Father, with the addition of Mac, after the fashion of Ireland. Other innovations, no doubt, entred there likewise at the opening of this wide mutation of ours: fashion and immitation like weedes growing in every soyle.

1075. Anno Reg. 9.—1076. Anno Reg. 10.—1077. Anno Reg. 11.—Shortly after this late made peace, Prince Edgar voluntarily came in, and submitted himselfe to the King, beeing then in Normandy, and was restored to grace, and a faire maintenance, which held him euer after quiet. And it made well at that time for the Fortune of the King, howsoeuer for his owne, beeing thought to have ill-timed his affayres (eyther through want of seasonable intelligence, or despayre of successe) in making too soone that submission, which was later or neuer to be done. For in this absence of the King, Roger Fits Auber, the young Earle of Hereford, contrary to his expresse Commandement, gaue his sister in marriage to Ralph Waher, Earle of Northfolke, and Suffolke, and at the great Solemnization thereof, the two Earles conspired with Eustace Earle of Boloigne (who secretly came ouer to this Festivall) and with the Earle Waltheof, and other English Lords, to call in the Danes, and by maine power to keepe out and dispossesse the King. Who having thus passed over so many gulfes of forraine dangers, might little imagine of any wracke so neere home: and that those, whom hee had most advanced, should haue the especiall hand in his destruction: But no rewards are benefits (that are not held so,) nor can euer cleare the accounts with their that ouer-value their merits. And had not this conspiracy beene opportunely discouered (which some say, that [was] by the Earle Waltheof, mooued with the vglinesse of so foule an ingratitude) they had put him againe to the winning

of England. But now the fire bewrayed before it flamed, was soone quenched by the diligence of Odon the Kings Vice-gerent, the Bishop of Worcester and others, who kept the Conspirators from ioyning their Forces: So that they neuer came to make head, but were eyther surprized, or forced to flye. The Earle Roger Fitz Auber was taken, and some say, executed; and so was shortly after the Earle Waltheof, whose dissent from the act, could not get him pardon for his former consent, though much compassion in respect of his great worthinesse. But the wide distent of these tumors, fed from many secret veines, seemed to be of that danger, as required this extreamity of cure, especially in a part so apt for infection, upon any the like humours.

For this Conspiracy seemes to take motion from a generall league of all the Neighbour Princes, here about, as may well be gathered by their seuerall actions. First in the King of France by defending Dole in Brittaine (a Castle of Ralph de Waher) against the King of England, and in likelihood, imploying the Earle of Bologne towards the Conspirators: In Swayne King of Denmarke, by sending a Nauy of two hundred sayle, vnder the conduct of his sonne Knute and others. King of Ireland, by furnishing the sonnes of Harold with sixty-fiue ships. In Malcoline, and the Kings of Wales, by their readinesse to assist. But the Danes being on the coast, and hearing how their Confederates had sped, with the great preparations the King had made, after some pillage taken vpon the coast of England and Flanders, returned home. and neuer after arrived to disturbe this Land. Though in Anno Reg. 19. Knute, then King of Denmarke, after the death of Swayne (intending to repayre the dishonour of his two last aduentures past) and to put for the Crowne of England, his predecessours had holden, prepared a Nauy of a thousand saile, and was aided with sixe hundred more by Robert le Frison Earle of Flanders (whose daughter he had married). But the windes held so contrary for two yeares together, as vtterly quasht that enterprize; and freed the King, and his successors for euer after, from future mollestation that way.

1078. Anno Reg. 12. But this businesse put the State to an infinite charge, the King entertaining al that time (besides his Normans) Hugh, brother to the King of France, with many companies of French. Finding the English (in respect of many great Families allied to the Danes) to incline rather to that Nation, then the Norman, and had experience of the great and neere intelligence continually passing betweene them.

1079. Anno Reg. 13. The Kings of Wales doe homage to King William.—Robert of Normandy titl'd Courtois.—And these were at the warres he had within the Kingdome, sauing in An Regni 13. he subdued Wales, and brought the Kings there, to do him homage. His warres abroad, were all about his Dominions in France, first raised by his owne son Robert, left Lieutenant gouernor of the Dutchy of Normandy, and County of Mayne, who in his Fathers absence, tasting the glory of command, grew to assume the absolute rule of the Prouince, causing the Barrons there, to do him homage (as Duke) not as Lieuetenant, and leagues him with the King of France, who working vpon the easinesse of his youth, & ambition, was glad to aprehend that occasion to disjoynt his Estate, who was growne too great for him. And the profuse largesse, and disorderly expence, whereto Robert was addicted, is nourished by all wayes possible as the meanes to imbarke him in those difficulties, of still getting mony, that could not but veeld continuall occasion to entertaine both his owne discontent and theirs, from whom his supplies must be raised. And though thereby he purchased him the title of Courtois, yet he lost the opinion of good gouernment, and constrained the Estates of Normandy, to complaine to his Father of the great concussion, and violent exactions he vsed amongst them.

1080. Anno Reg. 14. Robert rebels against his Father.— The King vnderstanding the fire thus kindled in his owne house, that had set others all in combustion, hastes with his Forces into *Normandy*, to have surprized his son, who advertized of his coming, furnisht with two thousand men at armes, by the king of *France*, lay in ambush where he should passe; sets vpon him, defeited most of his people, and in the persuite hapned to incounter with himselfe, whom he vnhorsed, and wounded in the arme, with his Launce; but perceiving by his voyce it was his Father, hee hasted to remount him, humbly craving pardon for his offence: which the Father (seeing in what a case he was) granted, howsoever he gave; and vpon his submission tooke him with him to *Roven*, whence, after cured of his hurt, returned with his son *William* (likewise wounded in the fight) into *England*.

1081. Anno. Reg. 15.—Long was it not ere he was againe informed of his sons remutining, and how hee exacted vppon the Normans, vsurpt the intire gouernment, and vrged his Fathers promise thereof, made him before the King of France, vpon his conquest of England: which caused his little stay heere, but to make preparations for his returne into those parts: whether in passing he was driven on the coast of Spaine, but at length arriving at Burdeaux, with his great preparations, his son Robert came in, and submitted himselfe the second time: whom he now tooke with him into England, to frame him to a better obedience, imploying him in the hard and necessitous warres of Scotland (the late peace beeing betweene the two Kings againe broken) and after sent him backe, and his young son Henry, with the association of charge and like power (but of more trust) to the government of Normandy.

1082. Anno Reg. 16. Louis and Henry sons of the kings of France and England.—After the two Princes had beene there a while, they went to visite the King of France at Constance, where feasting certaine dayes, vpon an after dinner, Henry, wan so much at Chesse of Louis, the Kings eldest son, as hee growing into Choller called him the sonne of a Bastard, and threw the Chesse in his face. Henry takes vpp the Chesseboord, and strake Louis, with that force, as drew bloud, and

had killed him, had not his brother Robert come in the meane time, and interposed himselfe: whereupon they suddenly tooke horse, and with much adoe they recouered Pontioise, from the Kings people that pursued them. This quarrell arising, vppon the inter-meeting of these princes (a thing that seldome breeds good blood amongst them) re-enkindled a heate of more rancor in the Fathers, and beganne the first warre betweene the English and French. For presently the King of France, complots againe with Robert (impatient of a partner), enters Normandy, and takes the Citty of Vernon.

1086. Anno Reg. 20. King William denies to doe homage for England, to the King of France.—The king of England inuades France, subdues the Country of Zaintonge and Poicton, and returnes to Rouen, where the third time, his sonne Robert is reconciled vnto him, which much disapovnts and vexes the King of France, who thereuppon, summons the king of England to do him homage for the kingdome of England. which he refused to do, saying, He had it of none but God. and his sword. For the Dutchy of Normandy hee offers him homage: but that would not satisfie the king of France, whom nothing would, but what hee could not have, the Maisterie: and seekes to make an occasion the motive of his quarrell: and againe inuades his territories, but with more losse then profit. In the end, they conclude a certaine crazie peace. which held no longer then King IVilliam had recoursed a sicknesse, whereinto (through his late trauell, age, and corpulencie) he was falne; at which time, the King of France, then young and lusty, leasting at his great belly, whereof he sayd hee lay in at Rouen, so irritated him, as being recoursed, hee gathers all his best Forces, enters France in the chiefest time of their fruits, making spoyle of all in his way, till he came euen to Paris, where the King of France then was, to whom he sends, to shew him of his vp-sitting, and from thence marches to the Citty of Mants, which he vtterly sackt, and in the destruction thereof, gate his owne, by the strayne of his horse, among the breaches, and was then conveyed sicke to Rouen, and soe ended his warres. (1087. Anno Reg. 21.)

His government in peace.—What were the Lawes of

England.—The original of the Common Law now vsed.— The Law of England put into a forraine language.-Now for his gouernment in peace, and the course hee held in establishing the Kingdome thus gotten; first after hee had represt the conspiracies in the North, and well quieted all other parts of the State (which now beeing absolutely his, hee would have to bee ruled by his owne Law) hee beganne to gouerne all by the Customes of Normandy. Whereupon the agreeued Lords, and sadde people of England, tender their humble petition, Beseeching him in regard of his oath made at his Coronation. And by the soule of Saint Edward, from whom he had the Crowne and Kingdom: under whose Lawes they were borne and bred; that he would not adde that misery, to deliuer them up to be judged by a strange Law they understood not. And so earnestly they wrought, that hee was pleased to confirme that by his Charter, which he had twice fore-promised by his Oath: And gaue commaundement vnto his Iusticiaries to see those Lawes of Saint Edward (so called, not that hee made them but collected them out of Merchen-Law, Dane-Law, and Westsex-Law) To bee inviolably observed throughout the Kingdome. And yet notwithstanding this confirmation, and the Charters afterward granted by Henry the first, Henry the second and King Iohn, to the same effect; there followed a great innovation both in the Lawes and government in England, So that this seemes rather to bee done to acquiet the people, with a shew of the Continuation of their ancient customes and liberties, then that they enjoyed them in effect. For the little conformitie betweene them of former times, and these that followed vppon this change of State, shew from what head they sprang. And though there might bee some veynes issuing from former originalls, yet the maine streame of our Common law, with the practise thereof, flowed out of Normandy, notwithstanding all objections can bee made to the For before these collections of the Confessors, there was no vniuersall Law of the Kingdome, but euery seuerall Prouince held their owne customes, all the inhabitants from Humber to Scotland vsed the Danique Law: Merchland: the middle part of the country; and the State of the West Saxons, had their seuerall constitutions, as beeing seuerall Dominions, and though for some few yeares, there seemed to bee a reduction of the Heptarchie, into a Monarchie, yet held it not so long together (as wee may see in the succession of a broken gouernment) as to settle one forme of order currant ouer all: but that euery Prouince, according to their particular founders, had their customes apart, and held nothing in common (besides religion, and the constitutions thereof) but with the vniuersality of Meum & Tuum, ordered according to the rights of nations, and that Ius innatum, the common law of all the world, which wee see to bee as vniuersall, as are the cohabitations, and societies of men, and serues the turne to hold them together in all Countries, howsoeuer they may differ in their formes. So that by these passages, wee see what way we came, when wee are, and the furthest ende wee can discouer of the original of our Common law; and to striue to looke beyond this, is to looke into an vncertaine Vastnesse, beyond our discerning. Nor can it detract from the glory of good Customes, if they bring but a pedigree of 600 yeares to approue their gentility; seeing it is the equity, and not the Antiquity of lawes, that makes them venerable, and the integritie of the professors thereof, the profession honored. And it were well with mankinde, if dayes brought not their corruptions, and good orders were continued with that prouidence, as they were instituted. But this alteration of the Lawes of England bred most heavie doleancies, not onely in this Kings time, but long after: For whereas before, those Lawes they had, were written in their owne tongue, intelligible to all; now are they translated into Latine and French, and practized wholly in the Norman forme

and Languages; thereby to draw the people of this Kingdome, to learne that speach for their owne neede, which otherwise they would not doe; And seeing a difference in Tongue, would not continue a difference in affections; all meanes was wrought to reduce it to one Idiom, which yet was not in the power of the Conquerour to doe, without the extirpation, or ouerlaying of Land-bred people; who being so farre in number (as they were) aboue the Inuadors; both retaine the maine of the Language, and in few yeares, haue those who subdued them, vndistinguishably theirs. For notwithstanding the former Conquest by the Danes, and now this by the Norman (the solide bodie of the Kingdome, still consisted of the English) and the accession of strange people, was but as rivers to the Ocean, that changed not it, but were changed into it. And though the King laboured that he could to turne all to French, By enioyning their Children heere to use no other Language with their Grammer in schooles, to have the Lawes practized in French, all petitions and businesse of Court in French, No man graced but hee that spake French, yet soone after his dayes, all returnes naturall English againe (but Law) and that still held forraine, and became in the ende wholly to be inclosed in that Language: nor haue we now, other marke of our subjection and invassalage from Normandie, but onely that, and that still speakes French to vs in England.

And herewithall, New Termes, new Constitutions, new Formes of Pleas, new Offices, and Courts, are now introduced by the Normans, a people more invred to litigation, and of spirits more impatient, and contentious, then were the English: who (by reason of their continuall warre, wherein Law is not borne, and labour to defend the publicke) were more at vnitie in their private: and that small time of peace they had, Deuotion, and good fellowship entertained. For their Lawes and Constitutions before, wee see them plaine, briefe, and simple, without perplexities, having neither fold nor pleite, commanding; not disputing: Their grants and transactions as

briefe and simple, which showed them a cleere-meaning people, retayning still the nature of that plaine realnesse they brought with them, vncomposed of other fashion then their owne, and vnaffecting imitation.

The English trials in cases Criminall.—Men of ability cleered by their Oathes.—And for their tryals (in cases Criminall) where manifest proofe failed, they continued their auncient Custome, held from before their Christianitie (vntill this great alteration) which trials they called Ordeal, Or (signifying) Right, Deale, Parte, whereof they had these kinds: Ordeal by fire, which was for the better sort, & by water for the inferiour: That of Fire, was to goe blindfold over certaine plough shares, made red hote, and laide an vneuen distance one from another. That of Water was either of hote, or cold: in the one to put their armes to the elbow, in the other to bee cast headlong. According to their escapes or hurts, they were adjudged: Such as were cast into the rivers, if they sanke were held guiltlesse, if not, culpable, as elected by that Element. These tryals they called the iudgements of God, and they were performed with solemne Oraisons. In some cases, the accused was admitted to cleere himselfe by receiving the Eucharist, or by his owne Oath, or the Oathes of two or three; but this was for especiall persons, and such, whose liuings were of a rate allowable thereunto, the vsuall opinion perswading them, that men of ability held a more regard of honesty.

The English trials.—With these, they had the triall of Campe-fight, or single combat (which likewise the Lumbards, originally of the same German Nation, brought into Italy) permitted by the Law, in cases either of safety, and fame, or of possessions. All which trials, shew them to be ignorant in any other forme of Law, or to neglect it; Nor would they bee induced to forgoe these Customes, and determine their affaires by Imperiall or Pontificiall Constitutions, no more then would the Lumbards forsake their duellary Lawes in Italy, which their Princes (against some of their wils) were constrayned to ratifie, as Luytprendus

their King, thus ingeniously confesses: Wee are vncertaine of the judgment of God, and we have heard many by fight, to have lost their cause, without iust cause; yet in respect of the Custome of our Nation, we cannot anoyde an impious Law. But all these Formes of iudgments and trialls, had their seasons: Those of Fire and Water, in short time after the Conquest, grew dis-vsed, and in the end vtterly abrogated by the Pope; as deriued from Paganisme: That of Combate continues longer-liued, but of no ordinary vse: And all actions now, both criminall and reall, beganne to be wholly adjudged by the verdict of twelue men, according to the custome of Normandy, where the like forme is vsed, and called by the name of Enquest, with the same cautions for the Iurors, as it is heere continued to this day. Although some holde opinion that this forme of triall, was of vse in this Kingdome from all Antiquity, and alledge an Ordinance of King Ethelred (Father to the Confessor) willing in their Gemote or conventions, monethly held in every Hundred, twelue grave men of free condition, should with the Greue, the Chiefe Officer amongst them, sweare vpon the Euangelists, to iudge every mans cause aright. But here we see twelue men were to be assessors with the Greue to judge, and no Iurors, according to this manner of triall now vsed; Besides, had there beene any such forme, we should aswell haue heard thereof in their Lawes and practise, as of those other kinds of Ordeall, onely, and vsually mentioned.

The continuation of the Law for the peace.—The Borough Law of the Saxons.—But whatsoever innovations were in all other things; the gouernment of the peace and security of the Kingdome (which most imported the King to looke vnto) seemes to bee continued as before, and for that businesse hee found heere better Lawes established, by the wary care of our former Kings, then any he could bring. Amongst which especially was the Borough Law, whereby every free man of the Commons stood as surety for each others behaviour, in this sort.

Saxon Lawes.—The Kingdome was deuided into Shieres

or Shares, euery Shiere consisting of so many Hundreds, and euery Hundred of a number of Boroughs, Villages, or Tythings, contayning ten housholders, whereof; If any one should commit an unlawfull act, the other nine were to attach and bring him to reason: If he fled, thirty one dayes were enioyned him to appeare: If in the meane time apprehended. he was made to restore the damage done; otherwise the Freeboroughead (to say the Tything-man) was to take with him two of the same Village, and out of three other Villages next adiovning as many (that is, the Tything-man, and two other of the principall men) and before the Officers of that Hundred. purge himselfe and the Village of the fact, restoring the damage done with the goods of the malefactor; which, if they suffized not to satisfie, the Free-borough, or Tything, must make up the rest, and besides take an oath to be no way accessary to the fact; and to produce the Offendor, if by any meanes they could recouer him, or know where he were. Besides, every Lord and Maister, stood Borough for all his Family, whereof, if any servant were called in question, the Maister was to see him answere it in the Hundred, where he was accused. If he fled, the Maister was to yeeld such goods as he had to the King. If himselfe were accused to be ayding or privile to his servants flight, he was to cleare himselfe by five men, otherwise to forfeit all his goods to the King, and his man to be out-lawed. (Lambert.)

No popular insurrection before the Conquest.—The meanes vsed by the Norman, to establish his Conquest.—These linckes thus intermutually fastened, made so strong a chayne to hold the whole Frame of the State together in peace and order, as, all the most pollitique regiments vppon Earth, all the inter-leagued Societies of men, cannot shew vs a streighter Forme of combination. This might make the Conquerour, comming vpon a people (thus Law-bound hand and foote) to establish him, so soone, and easily as hee did; This Borough-law (being as a Cittadell, built to guard the Common-wealth comming to bee possest by a Conquering Maister) was made

to turne all this Ordinance vpon the State, and batter her selfe with her owne weapon: and this Law may bee some cause, we finde no popular insurrection before the Conquest. For had not this people bene bound with these Fetters, and an idle peace (but had liued loose, and in action) it is like they would have done as nobly, and given as many, and as deepe wounds ere they lost their Country, as ever the *Brittains* did, either against the *Romans*, or the *Saxons*, their predecessours, or themselves had done against the *Danes*; a people farre more powerfull, and numerous then these. The Conquerour, without this, had not made it the worke of one day, nor had *Normandy* ever bin able to have yeelded those multitudes for supplies, that many battailes must have had.

Alteration of the Gouernment.—But now. First, the executing this Law. Secondly, dis-weaponing the Commons. Thirdly, preuenting their night-meetings with a heavy penalty, that every man at the day closing, should cover his fire, and depart to his rest. Fourthly, erecting divers Fortresses in fit parts of the Kingdome. Fifthly, collating al offices, both of tommand and indicature, on those who were his; made his domination such as he would have it.

And where before the Bishop and the Alderman were the absolute Iudges to determine all businesse in euery Shiere, and the Bishop in many cases shared in the benifits of the Mulcts with the King, now he confined the Clergy, within the Prouince of their own Ecclesiasticall iurisdiction, to deale onely in busines concerning rule of soules, according to the Cannons, and Lawes Episcopall.

The order of deciding controuersies in the Saxons time.— New orders instituted by the *Normans*.—And whereas the causes of the Kingdome were before determined in euery Shire, and by a Law of King *Edward* Senior, all matters in question should, vpon especiall penalty, without further deferment, be finally decided in their *Gemote*, or conuentions held monthly in euery hundred: now he ordained. *That*

foure times in the yeare, for certaine dates, the same businesses should be determined in such place as he would appoynt, where hee constituted Iudges to attend for that purpose, and others, from whom, as from the bosome of the Prince, al litigators should have Iustice, and from whom was no appeale. Others he appointed for the punishment of malefactors, called Iusticiarij Pacis.

The alteration of Tenures.—The Tenure of Gauelkin.— The customs of Kent preserved by the mediation of the Archbishop Stigand.—What alteration was then made in the tenure of mens possessions, or since introduced, wee may finde by taking note of their former vsances. Our Ancestours had onely two kindes of tenures, Boke-land, and Folk-land, the one a possession by writing, the other without. That by writing was a free-hold, and by Charter, hereditary, with all immunities, and for the free and nobler sort. (Lambert: Freehold.) That without writing, was to hold at the will of the Lord, bound to rents and services, and was for the rurall people. The inheritances descended not alone, but after the German manner, equally deuided amongst al the children, which they called Land-skiftan, to say, Part-land, a custome yet continued in some places of Kent, by the name of Gauel-kin, of Gif eal kin: And hereupon some write how the people of that Country, retayned their ancient lawes and liberties, by especiall graunt from the Conquerour, who after his battaile at Hastings, comming to Douer, to make all sure on that side, was incompassed by the whole people of that Prouince, carrying boughes of trees in their hands, and marching round about him like a moouing wood. With which strange and sodaine shew being much mooued, the Arch-bishop Stigand, and the Abbot Egelfin who had raised this commotion by shewing the people in what daunger they were, vtterly to loose their liberties, and to indure the perpetuall misery of seruitude, (vnder the domination of strangers) present themselues, and declared, How they were the universall people of that Country, gathered together in that manner with boughes in their hands, either as Olive branches of intercession, for peace and liberty, or to intangle him in his passage, with resolution rather to leave their lives, then that which was deerer, their freedome. Whereuppon they say the Conquerour granted them the continuation of their former Customes and Liberties: whereof, notwithstanding they now retaine no other, then such as are common with the rest of the Kingdome.

Villinage (Geruasius Tilburiensis. Dialog Scace.).-For such as were Tenants at the will of their Lords (which now growne to a greater number, and more miserable then before) vppon their petition and compassion of their oppression hee releeued, their case was this. All such as were discovered to have had a hand in any rebellion, and were pardoned, onely to enjoy the benefit of life, having all their lively-hood taken from them. became vassals vnto those Lords to whom the possessions were giuen, of all such lands forfeited by attaindors. And if by their diligent seruice, they could attaine any portion of ground, they held it but onely so long as it pleased their Lords, without having any estate for themselves, or their children, and were oftentimes violently cast out vppon any small displeasure, contrary to all right: whereuppon it was ordained, that whatsoeuer they had obtained of their Lords, by their obsequious seruice, or agreed for by any lawfull pact, they should hold by an inuiolable Law, during their owne liues.

A suruey made of the Kingdome.—The next great worke after the ordering his Lawes, was the raising and disposing of his reuennues, taking a course to make, and know the vtmost of his estate, by a generall suruey of his Kingdome, whereof hee had a president by the *Dome* booke of *Winchester*, taken before by King *Alfred*. But as one day informes another, so these actions of profit grew more exact in their after practise: and a larger Commission is granted, a choyce of skilfuller men imployed, to take the particulars both of his owne possessions, and eucry mans else in the Kingdome, the nature and the quality of their lands, their estates, and abilities; besides the

discriptions, bounds, and diuisions of Shieres, and Hundreds, and this was drawne into one booke, and brought into his treasury, then newly called the Exchequer (according to the soueraigne Court of that name of Normandy) before termed here Talee, and it was called the Dome booke (Liber iudicarius) for all occasions concerning these particulars. (Geruasius Tilburiensis. de Scacc. Dome booke.)

The new Forest in Hampshire.—All the Forrests and Chases of the Kingdome, hee seized into his owne possession; and exempted them from being vnder any other Law then his owne pleasure, to serue as Penetralia Regnum, the withdrawing Chambers of Kings, to recreate them after their serious labours in the State, where none other might presume to have to doe. and where all punishments and pardons of delinquents were to be disposed by himselfe, absolutely, and all former customes abrogated. And to make his command the more, hee increased the number of them in all parts of the Land, and on the South coast dis-peopled the Country for aboue thirty miles space, making of old inhabited possessions, a new Forrest, inflicting most seuere punishments for hunting his Deere, and thereby much advances his reuennues. An act of the greatest concussion, and tyranny, he committed in his reigne, and which purchased him much hatred. And the same course held (almost euery King neere the Conquest) till this heauey grieuance was allayed by the Charter of Forrests, granted by Henry the third. (Ibid.)

He imposed no new taxations.—The occasion of paying Escuage.—The Custome of Fifes.—Besides these, he imposed no new taxations on the State, and vsed those hee found very moderately, as Danegelt, an imposition of two shillings vpon euery hide or ploughland (raised first by King Ethelred, to bribe the Danes, after to warre vpon them) he would not haue it made an annuall payment, but onely taken vppon vrgent occasion, and it was seldome gathered in his time, or his successors (saith Geruasius) yet wee finde in our Annals, a taxe of sixe shillings

vpon euery hide-land, leauied presently after the generall suruey of the Kingdome. Escuage (whether it were an imposition formerly layd, though now newly named, I do not finde) was a summe of mony, taken of euery knights Fee: In after times, especially raised for the seruice of Scotland; And this also, saith Geruasius, was seldome leavied but on great occasion, for stipends, and donatiues to souldiers: yet was it at first a due, reserved out of such lands as were given by the Prince for seruice of warre; according to the Customes of other Nations. As in the Romans time we finde Lands were giuen in reward of seruice to the men of warre, for terme of their lives, as they are at this day in Turkey. After they became patrimonial, and hereditary to their Children. Seuerus the Emperour was the first who permitted the children of men of warre, to inioy their Fifes, prouided that they followed Constantine to reward his principall Captaines, granted them a perpetuity in the Lands assigned them. The estates which were but for life, were made perpetuall in France, vnder the last kings of the race of Charlemaine. Those Lords who had the great Fifes of the king, sub-diuided them to other persons, of whom they were to haue seruice.

By what meanes hee increased his Reuenues.—The Law for Murther renued, first made by King Knute.—Mulctuary profits, besides, such as might arise by the breach of his Forrest-lawes, hee had, few or none new, vnlesse that of Murther, which arose vppon this occasion. In the beginning of his reigne, the rankor of the English towards the new-come Normans, was such, as finding them single in woods, or remote places, they secretly murthered them; and the deed doers (for any the seuerest courses taken) could neuer bee discouered: Whereupon, it was ordained, that the Hundred, wherein a Norman was found slaine, and the murtherer not taken, should be condemned to pay to the King, some 36. pounds, some 28. pounds, according to the quantity of the Hundred, that the punishment, being generally inflicted, might particularly deter

them, and hasten the discouery of the Malefactor, by whom so many must (otherwise) be interessed.

King William seazed vppon the Treasure committed to Monasteries.—For his provisionary revenues, he continued the former custome held by his Predecessors, which was in this manner. (Geruasius Tilb.) The Kings Tenants, who held the Lands of the Crowne, payd no money at all; but onely Victualls, Wheate, Beifes, Muttons, Hay, Oates, &c: And a iust note of the quality and quantitie of euery mans ratement was taken throughout all the Shieres of the Kingdome, and leauied euer certaine, for the maintenance of the Kings Other ordinary In-come of ready moneys was there none, but what was raysed by mulcts, and out of Cities and Castles where Agriculture was not vsed. What the Church yeelded him, was by extent of a power that neuer reached so farre before; and the first hand, he laid upon that side which weighed heanily, was his seazing vpon the Plate, Iewels, and Treasure within all the Monasteries of England, pretending the Rebels and their assistants, conneyed their riches into these religious houses (as into places priviledged and free from seazure) to defraud him thereof.

Besides this, he made all Bishoprickes, and Abbeys that held Barronies (before that time free from all secular seruices) contributarie to his Warres, and his other occasions. And this may be the cause why they, who then onely held the Pen (the Scepter, that rules ouer the memorie of Kings) haue laid such an eternall imposition vpon his name, of rigour, oppression, and euen barbarous immanitie, as they have done. When the nature and necessary disposition of his affayres (being as he was) may aduocate for him, and in many things much excuse his courses. But this name of Conquest, which euer imports violence and miserie, is of so harsh a sound, and so odious in nature, as a people subdued cannot giue a Conquerour his due (how euer worthie,) and especiallie to a stranger, whom onely time must naturalize, and incorporate by

degrees, into their liking and opinion. And yet therein this King was greatly aduantaged, by reason of his twenty yeares gouernment, which had much impaired the Memory of former Customes in the yonger sort, and well invred the elder to the present vsances and forme of State, whereby the rule was made more easie to his sons: who (though they were farre inferiour to him in worth) were somewhat better beloued, then he; and the rather, for that their occasions made them, somewhat to vnwrest the Soueraignty from that height, whereunto hee had strayned it.

His Councellors.—The Bishop of Bayeux as an Earle of Kent, committed to Prison.—How hee was vnderset with able Ministers for the managing of these great affaires of his, though time hath shut vs out from the knowledge of some of them (it beeing in the Fortune of Kings, to haue their Ministers like Rivers in the Ocean, buried in their glory) yet no doubt, being of a strong constitution of Iudgement, he could not but be strongly furnished in that kind: for weake Kings haue euer weake sides, and the most renowned Princes are alwaies best stored with able Ministers. The principall of highest imploiment, were Odon, Bishop of Bayeux, and Earle of Kent: Lanfranc Archbishop of Canterbury, and William Fitz Auber, Earle of Hereford: Odon supplied the place of Viceroy in the Kings absence, and had the management of the Treasurie. A man of a wide and agile spirit, let out into as spacious a conceipt of greatnesse, as the heighth of his place could shew him: And is rumored by the infinite accumulation of money (which his auarice and length of office had made) either to buy the Popedome, or to purchase the people of England vpon the death of the King his brother: who (vnderstanding hee had a purpose of going to Rome, and seeing a mighty confluence of Followers gathering vnto him) made a close prison stay his iourney: excusing it to the Church, that hee imprisoned not a Bishop of Bayeux, but an Earle of Kent, an Officer accomptant vnto him. Yet,

vpon his death-bed shortly following (after many obsecrations, that hee would, in respect of blood and nature, be a kind mean for the future peace of his sons) he released him.

Reserved for greater mischiefe.—But the Bishop failed his request therein, and became the onely kindle-fire to set them all into more furious combustion. The motiue of his discontent (the engine wherewith all Ambition euermore turnes about her intentions) was the enuy hee bare to Lanfranc, whose counsell, in his greatest Affaires, the King especially vsed: and to oppose and ouer-beare him, he tooke all the contrary courses, and part with Robert, his Nephew, whom (after many fortunes) hee attended to the holy Warre, and dyed in the siedge of Antioch.

Lanfranc.—Lanfranc was a man of as vniuersall goodnesse, as learning, borne in Lombardy, and came happily a stranger, in these strange times to do good to England; vpon whose observance, though the King might (in regard he raised him) lay some tye, yet his affections could not but take part with his piety and place: in so much as he feared not to oppose against Odon the Kings brother, seeking to gripe from the State of his Church: and in all he could, stood so betweene the Kingdome and the Kings rigor, as stayed many precipitious violences, that he (whose power lay as wide as his will) might else haue fallen into. For the Conqueror (howsoeuer austere to others) was to him alwayes milde and yeelding, as if subdued with grauity and vertue.

The Reformation of the Clergy by Lanfranc.—Hee reformed the irregularity, and rudenesse of the Clergy, introducing a more Southerne formality and respect, according to his breeding, and the Custome of his Country: concurring herein likewise to bee an Actor of alteration (though in the best kinde) with this change of State. And to give entertaynment to devotion, he did all he could to furnish his Church with the most exquisite ornaments might bee procured: added a more State and conveniency to the structure of religious

houses, and beganne the Founding of Hospitals. Hauing long struggled, with indefatigable labour, to hold things in an euen course, during the whole Reigne of this busie new State. building King, and after his Death, seeing his Successour in the Crowne (established especially by his meanes) to fayle his expectation; out of the experience of worldly causes, diuining of future mischiefes by present courses, grew much to lament (with his Friends) the teadiousnesse of life, which shortly after hee mildly left, with such a sicknesse, as neither hindred his speech nor memory: a thing hee would often desire of God.

William Fitz Auber Earle of Hereford, made Lawes in his Prouince.—William Fitz Auber (as is deliuered) was a principall Counsellor and instrument in this action for England; wherein he furnished forty ships at his owne charge. A man of great meanes, yet of a heart greater, and a hand larger then any meanes would well suffice. His profuse liberalities to men of armes, gaue often sharpe offence to the King, who could not indure any such improvident expences. Amongst the Lawes hee made (which shewes the power these Earles then had in their Provinces) hee ordayned, That in the County of Hereford, no man of war (or souldier) should bee fined for any offence whatsoeuer aboue seauen shillings; when in other Countries, voon the least occasion of disobeying their Lords will, they were forced to pay 20. or 25. shil. But his estate seeming to beare no proportion with his minde, and enough it was not to be an eminent Earle, an especiall Counsellor in all the affaires of England and Normandy, a chiefe Fauorite to so great a Monarch, but that larger hopes drew him away; designing to marry Richeld, Countesse Dowager of Flanders, and to have the gouernement of that Country, during the non-age of Arnulph her son; of whom, with the King of France, hee had the tutelary charge committed by Baldouin the sixth, Father to Arnulph: whose estate Robert le Frison his vnckle (called by the people to the gouernment, vpon the exactions inflicted

on them by Richeld) had vsurped. And against him Fitz Auber opposing, was with Arnulph surprized and slaine.

The death of William the first.—And this was in the Fate of the Conqueror, to see most of all these great men, who had beene the especiall Actors in all his Fortunes, spent and extinct before him; As Beaumont, Monfort, Harcourt, Hugh de Gourney, Vicount Neele, Hugh de Mortimer, Conte de Vannes, &c. And now himselfe, after his being brought sicke to Rouan, and there disposing his estate, ended also his act in the 74. yeare of his age, and the one and twenty of his Reigne.

His Corpes lay vnburied three dayes.—His interment hindred. -Three dayes the Corpes of this great Monarch is sayd to haue laine neglected, while his seruants attending to imbeasle his moueables: in the end, his yongest sonne Henry, had it conveyed to the Abbey of Cane; where first at the entry into the Towne, they who carried the Corpes, left it alone, and ran all to quench a house on fire: Afterward brought to be intombed, a Gentleman stands forth, and in sterne manner, forbids the interment in that place, claiming the ground to bee his Inheritance, descended from his Ancestors, and taken from him at the building of that Abbey; appealing to Row, their first Founder, for Iustice: Whereupon, they were faine to compound with him for an Annuall rent. Such adoe had the body of him after death (who had made so much in his life) to be brought to the earth; and of all he attayned, had not now a roome to contayne him, without being purchased at the hand of another, men esteeming a liuing Dog more then a dead Lyon.

His Issue.—He had a faire Issue by Maude his wife, foure sons, and six daughters. To Robert his eldest, he left the Dutchy of Normandy: to William the third son, the Kingdome of England: to Henry the yongest, his treasure, with an annuall pension to bee payd him by his Brother. Richard who was his second son, and his darling, a Prince of great hope, was

slaine by a Stagge hunting in the new Forrest, and began the fatalnesse that followed in that place, by the death of *William* the second, there slaine with an arrow; and of *Richard* the son of *Robert* Duke of *Normandy*, who brake his necke.

His eldest daughter Cicile, became a Nun; Constance married to the Earle of Brittain; Adula to Stephen Earle of Bloys, who likewise rendred her selfe a Nun in her age; such was then their deuotion, and so much were these solitary retires, affected by the greatest Ladies of those times: Gundred married to William de Warrein, the first Earle of Surrey, the other two, Ela or Adeliza and Margaret dyed before marriage.

The description of *William* the first.—Now, what hee was in the circle of himselfe in his owne continent, wee finde him of an euen stature, comely personage, of good presence, riding, sitting or standing, till his corpulency increasing with age, made him somewhat vnweildy, of so strong a constitution, as he was neuer sickly till a few moneths before his death. His strength such, as few men could draw his Bow, and being about 50. of his age, when he subdued this Kingdome, it seemes by his continuall actions, hee felt not the weight of yeares vpon him till his last yeare.

What was the composition of his mind; wee see it (the fairest) drawne in his actions, and how his abilities of Nature, were answerable to his vndertakings of Fortune, as pre-ordayned for the great worke hee effected. And though hee might have some advantage of the time, wherein wee often see men prevaile more by the imbecility of others, then their owne worth; yet let the season of that world be well examined, and a iust measure taken of his active vertues, they will appeare of an exceeding proportion: Nor wanted he those incounters and concurrences of sufficient able Princes, to put him to the triall thereof: Having on one side the *French* to grapple withall; on the other the *Danes*, farre mightier in people and shipping then himselfe, strongly sided in this Kingdome, as eger to

recouer their former footing here, as euer, and as well or better

prepared.

His deuotion and mercy.—But one Noble man executed in all the time of this Kings Reigne.—For his deuotion and mercy, the brightest Starres in the Spheare of Maiesty, they appeare aboue all his other vertues, and the due observation of the first, the Clergy (that loved him not) confesse: the other was seene, in the often pardoning, and receiving into grace, those (who rebelled against him) as if hee held submission satisfactory, for the greatest offence, and sought not to defeit men, but their enterprizes: For wee finde but one Noble-man executed in all his Reigne, and that was the Earle Waltheof, who had twice falsified his Faith before: And those he held Prisoners in Normandy, as the Earles Morchar and Syward, with Wolnoth, the brother of Harold, and others (vpon compassion of their indurance) he released a little before his death.

Besides, hee was as farre from suspition, as cowardize, and of that confidence (an especiall note of his Magnanimity) as hee gaue *Edgar* his Competitor in the Crowne, the liberty of his Court: And (vpon his suite) sent him well furnisht to the holy Warre, where he nobly behaued himselfe, and attayned to great estimation, with the Emperours of *Greece* and *Almaine*, which might haue beene held dangerous, in respect of his alliances that way, being grand-child to the Emperour *Henry* the third. But these may be as well vertues of the Time, as of Men, and so the age must haue part of this commendation.

His workes of Piety.—He was a Benefactor to nine Abbeyes of Monkes, and one of Nunnes, founded by his Predecessors in *Normandy*, and during his owne time were founded in the same Prouince, seauen Abbeyes of Monkes and sixe of Nunnes; with which Fortresses (as he sayd) he furnisht *Normandy*, to the end men might therein fight against the flesh, and the Diuell. In *England* he Founded a goodly Abbey, where he fought his first Battell, whereof it had the Denomination, and two Nunneries, one at *Hinching-brooke* in *Huntingdon-shiere*,

and the other at Armthewt in Cumberland, besides his other publique workes.

Magnificent he was in his Festiuals, which with great solemnity and Ceremony (the formall entertayners of reuerence and respect) be duly observed: Keeping his Christmas at Glocester, his Easter at Winchester, and Pentecost at Westminster: whither he summoned his whole Nobility; that Embassadors and strangers might see his State and largenesse. Nor ever was he more milde and indulgent, then at such times. And these Ceremonies his first Successor observed; but the second omitted.

The end of the Life, and Reigne of William the first.

The Life and Reigne of William the second.

1087. Anno Reg. 1. William the second resumes his owne Grants.

Illiam the Second, Sonne to William the First, not attending his Fathers Funerall, hasts into England to recouer the Crowne, where (by the especiall mediation of the Arch-bishop Lanfranc, his owne

large bounty, and wide promises) he obtayned it, according to his Fathers will; to whom by his obsequiousnesse hee had much indeared himselfe, especially after the abdication of his elder brother *Robert*. Hee was a Prince more gallant then good, and having beene bred with the Sword, alwayes in action, and on the better side of Fortune, was of a Nature rough and haughty, whereunto, his youth and Soueraignty added a greater wildenesse. Comming to succeed in a Gouernment, fore-ruled by Mature and graue Councell, hee was so over-whelmed with his Fathers worth and greatnesse, as made him appeare of a lesser Orbe then otherwise he would have done. And then

the shortnesse of his Reigne, being but of thirteene yeares; allowed him not time to recouer that opinion, which the errors of first gouernment had lost, or his necessities caused him to commit. For the succession in right of Primogeniture, being none of his, and the elder brother liuing: howsoeuer his Fathers will was, hee must now be put, and held in possession of the Crowne of England, by the Will of the Kingdome: which to purchase (must be) by large conditions of releeuements in generall, and profuse gifts in particular. Wherein he had the more to doe, beeing to deale with a State consisting of a two-fold body, and different temperaments (where any inflammation of discontent, was the more apt to take,) having a head whereto it might readily gather. Which made, that vnlesse hee would lay more to their hopes then another, hee could not hope to have them firmely his. And therefore seeing the best way to win the Normans, was by money; and the English, with liberties, thee spared not at first, to bestow on the one, and to promise the other, more then befitted his estate and dignity; which, when afterward failing, both in supplies (for great givers must alwayes giue) and also in performances, got him farre more hatred then otherwise hee could euer haue had, being forced to all dishonorable shifts for raysing moneys that could bee deuised, and euen to resume his owne former grants.

Robert of Normandy borrowes summes of his brother Henry to purchase the Kingdome of England.—And to begin at first to take the course to be euer needy, presently after his Coronation, he goes to Winchester, where his Fathers Treasure lay, and empties out all that; which, with great prouidence, was there amassed: whereby, though he wonne the loue of many, hee lost more, beeing not able to content all. And now although his brother Robert had not (this great engine) money, hee had to giue hopes; and there were heere of the Normans, as Odon his Vnckle, Roger de Mongomery Earle of Shrewsbury, with others, who were mainely for him, and worke he doth all he can, to batter his brothers fortunes, vpon their

first foundation. And for this purpose borrowes great summes of his younger brother *Henry* (to whom the Father and the Mother had left much treasure) and for the same ingages the Country of *Constantine*, and leauies an army for *England*. But *William* newly inuested in the Crowne, though well prepared for all assaults, had rather purchase a present peace (by mediation of the Nobles on both sides) till time had better setled him in his gouernment then to raise spirits that could not easily bee allayed. And an agreement betweene them is wrought, that *William* should hold the Crowne of *England* during his life, paying to *Robert* three thousand Markes *Per annum*.

Robert hauing closed this businesse, resumes by force the Country of Constantine out of his brother Henries hands, without discharge of those summes; for which hee had ingaged it. Whereupon King William vpbraydes Henry (with the great gaine hee had made by his vsury) in lending mony to depriue him of his Crowne. And so Henry got the hatred of both his brothers, and hauing no place safe from their danger where to liue; surprized the Castle of Mount Saint Michel, fortifies him therein, gets ayde of Hugh Earle of Brittaine, and for his mony was serued with Brittaines, who committed great spoyles, in the Countryes of Constantine and Bessin.

Odon for malice to Lanfranc, seekes to distract the Kings forces.—The King vnderworkes his enemies, by releeuing the doleances, and granting former freedomes to the English.—Odon, Bishop of Bayeux, returning into England, after his imprisonment in Normandy, and restored to his Earldome of Kent, finding himselfe so farre vnder what hee had beene, and Lanfranc his concurrent, now the onely man in counsell with the King, complots with as many Norman Lords as hee found, or made to affect change, and a new maister, and sets them on worke in divers parts of the Realme, to distract the Kings Forces: as first Geffery Bishop of Constans: with his

Nephew Robert de Moubray Earle of Northumberland, fortifie themselues in Bristow, and take in all the Country about: Roger de Bigod, made himselfe strong in Northfolke: Hugh de Grandemeuill about Lecister: Roger de Mongomery Earle of Shrewsbury with a power of Welshmen, and other thereabout, sets out accompanied with William Bishop of Durham, Bernard de Newmarch, Roger Lacie, and Ralph Mortimer all Normans, and assaile the Citty of Worcester, making themselues strong in those parts. Odon himselfe fortifies the Castle of Rochester, makes good all the Coast of Kent, solicits Robert to vse what speede hee could to come with all his power out of Normandy: which had hee done in time, and not given his brother so large oppertunity of preuention, hee had carried the Kingdome; but his delay yeelds the King time to confirme his Friends, vnder-worke his enemies, and make himselfe strong with the English, which hee did by granting relaxation of tribute, with other releiuements of their doleances, and restoring them to their former freedom of hunting in all his woods and Forrests, a thing they much esteemed; whereby hee made them so strongly his, as soone hee brake the necke of all the Norman conspiracies (they being egar to reuenge them of that Nation) and heere they learned first to beate their Conquerors, having the faire advantage of this action, which cut the throates of many of them.

1088. Anno Reg. 2.—Mongomery, being won from his complices, and the seuerall conspirators in other parts represt, the King comes with an Army into Kent, where the head of the Faction lay, and first wonne the Castle of Tunbridge, and that of Pemsey, which Odon was forced to yeeld, and promise to cause those which defended that of Rochester, which were Eustace Earle of Bologne, and the Earle of Mortaigne, to render likewise the same. But beeing brought thither to effect the businesse, they within, receiving him, detained him, as hee pretended, prisoner, and held out stoutly against the King vpon a false intelligence given of the arrivall of Duke Robert

at Southampton; but in the end they were forced to quit the place, and retire into France, and Odon to abiure England.

And to keepe off the like danger from hence, he transports his Forces into Normandy, there to waste and weaken his brother at home. So, as hee might hold him from any further attempts abroad for euer after. Where first hee obtaines Saint Valery, and after Albemarle with the whole Country of Eu, Fescampe, the Abathie of mount Saint Michel, Cherburge, and other places. Robert seekes ayde of Phillip King of France, who comes downe with an army, into Normandy, but ouercome with the power of mony wherewith King William assayled him, did him little good, and so retired.

Whereupon Duke Robert, in the end, was driven to a dishonorable peace, concluded at Caen, with these Articles. First, that King William should hold the country of Eu, Fescampe, and all other places which hee had bought; and were delivered vnto him, by William Earle of Eu and Stephen Earle of Aumal, sisters son to William the first. Secondly, he should aide the Duke to recover al other peeces which belonged to his Father, and were vsurped from the Dutchy. Thirdly, that such Normans, as had lost their estates in England, by taking part with the Duke, should be restored thereunto. Fourthly, that the surviver of ether of them should succeed in the Dominions both of England & Normandy.

rog1. Anno Reg. 4. The Kings vndaunted valor.—After this peace made by the mediation of the King of France, whilst William had a strong Army in the field, Duke Robert requested his ayde against their brother Henry; who still kept him in the Fort of mount Michel, vpon his guard, holding it best for his safety: For being a Prince that could not subsist of himselfe (as an earthen vessell set amongst iron pots) he was every way in danger to be crusht; and seeing he had lost both his brothers by doing the one a kindnesse, if he should have tooke to either (their turne being served) his owne might bee

in hazard; and so betooke him to this defence. Forty dayes the two Princes layde siedge to this Castle; And one day, as the King was alone on the shore, there sallies out of the Fort, a Company of horse; whereof three ran at him so violently, and all strooke his horse together with their Launces; as they brake pectorall, girses, and all, that the horse slips away, and leaues the King, and the saddle on the ground: the King takes vp the saddle with both hands, and therewith defends himselfe till rescue came; and being blamed by some of his people for putting himselfe thus in peril of his life to saue his saddle, answered: It would have angered him, the Bretons should have bragged, they had wonne the saddle from under him, and how great an indignity it was, for a King to suffer inferiors to force anything from him.

1092. Anno Reg. 5. The King and his two bretheren agreed.—In the end Henry grew to extreame want of drinke and water; although he had all other prouision sufficient within his Fort, and sends to Duke Robert that he might have his necessity supplyed. The Duke sends him a Tun of wine, and grants him truce for a day to furnish him with water. Wherewith William being displeased, Duke Robert told him: It was hard to deny a brother meate and drinke which craved it, and that if hee perisht, they had not a brother. Wherewith William likewise relenting, they sent for Henry, and agreement is made: That he should hold in morgage the country of Constantine, till the mony was payd, and a day appoynted to receive it at Rouen.

Duke Robert commits his brother Henry to prison.—Which accord King William the rather wrought, to draw as much from Robert as hee might, whom by this voyage he not onely had wasted, but possest himselfe of a safe and continuall landing place, with a part of his Dutchy: and caused him to put from him, and banish out of Normandy; Edgar Atheling, whom Robert held his Pensioner, and as a stone in his hand, vpon all occasions to threaten William with anothers right, if his owne prevailed not: And besides, he wrought so,

as either through promise of mony, or some farther ratification to bee made here, hee brought his brother Robert with him ouer into England, and tooke him along in an expedition against Malcolin, who had incroched vpon his territories, during his absence. Which businesse being determined without battell, Robert, soone after returnes much discontented into Normandy, and as it seemes, without mony to satisfie his brother Henry. Who repairing to Rouen at a day appoynted, instead of receiving it, was committed to prison, and before hee could bee released, forced to renounce the Country of Constantine, and sware neuer to claime any thing in Normandy. 1093. Anno Reg. 6.—Henry complaines of this grosse injustice, to Philip King of France, who gaue him a faire entertainment

to Philip King of France, who gaue him a faire entertainment in his Court. Where he remained not long, but that a Knight of Normandy, named Hachard, vndertaking to put him into a Fort (maugre his brother Robert) within the Dutchy; conueyed him disguised out of the Court, and wrought so, as the Castle Dampfront was deliuered vnto him: whereby shortly after, he got all the Country of Passays, about it, and a good part of Constantine, by the secret ayde of King William, Richard de Rivieres, and Roger de Mannevile.

Duke Robert leuies Forces, and eagarly wrought to recouer Dampfront, but finding how Henry was vnderset, inueighs against the perfidie of his brother of England: in so much as the flame of rancor burst out againe more then euer. And ouer passes, King William with a great army, but rather to terrifie, then to doe any great matter, as a Prince that did more contend then war: and would be great with the sword, yet seldome desired to vse it; if he could get to his ends by any other meanes, seeking rather to buy his peace then win it.

Many skirmishes interpassed, with surprizements of Castles, but in the end a treaty of peace was propounded: wherein to make his conditions, what he would; King *William* seemes hard to bee wrought, and makes the more shew of Force; sending

ouer into England for an Army of thirty thousand men, which being brought to the shoare, ready to bee shipped: an offer was made to bee proclaimed by his Lieuetenant, that giving ten shillings a man, whosoeuer would, might depart home to his dwelling; whereby was raised so much as discharged his expence, and serued to fee the King of France, vnder-hand, for his forbearing ayde to Duke Robert, who seeing himselfe left by the French, must needes make his peace as the other would have it.

1094. Anno Reg. 7.—The King of Scots & his son Edward slaine, causes Queene Margaret to dy with griefe.-Now for his affaires at home, the vncertaine warres with Wales and Scotland, gaue him more businesse then honour. Beeing driven in the one to incounter with mountaines in stead of men, to the great losse and disaduantage of his people, and in the other with as many necessities. Wales he sought to subdue; Scotland so to restraine, as it might not hurt him. For the last, after much broyle, both Kings, seeming more willing to have peace then to seeke it, are brought to an interuiew. Malcolin vpon publicke faith, and safe conduct, came to Glocester; where, vppon the haughtinesse of King William, looking to bee satisfied in all his demands, and the vnyeeldingnesse of King Malcolin, standing vppon his regality within his owne, though content to bee ordered for the confines, according to the judgment of the Primate of both Kingdomes; nothing was effected, but a greater disdaine, and rankor in Malcoline, seeing himselfe despised, and scarce looked on by the King of England. So that vpon his returne armed with rage; hee raises an Army, enters Northumberland, which fouer times before he had depopulated; and now the fifth, seeking vtterly to destroy it, and to have gone farther, was with his eldest sonne Edward slaine, rather by fraude then power of Robert Mowbray Earle of that Country: The griefe of whose deaths, gaue Margaret, that blessed Queene hers. (Roger Houeden.) After whom, the State elected Dufnald,

brother to *Malcolin*, and chased out all the *English*, which attended the Queene, and were harbored, or preferred by *Malcolin*. King *William* to set the line right, and to haue a King there which should bee beholding to his power, aides *Edgar*, the second son to *Malcolin* (who had serued him in his wars) to obtaine the Crowne due vnto him in right of succession: by whose meanes *Dafnald* was expeld, and the State received *Edgar*, but killed all the ayde hee brought with him out of *England*, and capitulated that hee should never more entertaine *English* or *Norman* in his service.

1095. Anno Reg. 7.—This businesse setled; Wales strugling for liberty, and reuenge, gaue new occasion of worke: whether hee went in person, with purpose to depopulate the Countrie: but they (retiring into the Mountaines and the Isle of Anglesey) anoyded the present fury. But afterward, Hugh Earle of Shrewsbury, and Hugh Earle of Chester, surprizing the Isle (their chiefest retreit) committing there barbarous examples of cruelty, by exoccations, and miserable dismembring the people; which immanity, was there suddenly auenged on the Earle of Shrewsbury, with a double death, first shot into the eye, and then tumbling ouer boord into the sea, to the sport and scorne of his enemy the King of Norway, who either by chance, or of purpose, comming vppon that coast from taking in the Orcades, encountred with him and that Force he had at sea.

These were the remote businesses, when a conspiracie breake out within the body of the Kingdome, complotted by Richard Mowbray Earle of Northumberland, William d'Ou and many others, which are sayd to have sought the destruction of the King and the advancement of Stephen Earle of Albemarle, his Aunts sonne to the Crowne; which gave the King more trouble then danger: For by the speedy and maine prosecution of the businesse (wherein he vsed the best strength of England) it was soone ended, with the confusion of the vndertakers. But it wrought an ill effect in his Nature, by hardening the same to an extreame rigor: for after the feare was past, his wrath, and

cruelty were not; but (which is hideous in a Prince) they grew to bee numbred amongst incurable diseases.

The Earle was committed to the Castle of Windsor, William d'Ou, at a Councell at Salisbury being ouercome in Duell (the course of triall) had his eyes put out, and his priuy members cut off. William de Alueric, his Sewer, a man of goodly personage, and allyed vnto him, was condemned to be hanged: though both in his confession to Osmond the Bishop there, and to all the people as he passed to his Execution, he left a cleare opinion of his innocency, and the wrong he had by the King.

But now; whilst these fractures heere at home, the unrepayrable breaches abroad (were such) as could give the King no longer assurednesse of quiet, then the attempters would: and that all the Christian World was out, eyther at discord amongst themselves, or in faction, by the schisme of the Church: Pope Vrban, assembling a generall Councell at Cleirmont in Avergne, to compose the affayres of Christendome, exhorted all the Princes thereof to ioyne themselves in Action, for the recovery of the Holy Land, out of the hands of Infidels. Which motion, by the zealous negotiations of Peter the Hermit of Amiens; tooke so generally (meeting with the disposition of an active, and religious world) as turned all that flame, which had else consumed each other at home, vpon vnknowne Nations that vndid them abroad.

Peter the Hermit gets 300000. men to recouer the Holy Land.—Such, and so great grew the heat of this action, made by the perswasion of the Iustice thereof, with the State and glory it would bring on earth, and the assurednesse of Heauen to all the pious vndertakers, that none were esteemed to containe any thing of worth, which would stay behind. Each giues hand to other to leade them along, and example addes number. The forwardnesse of so many great Princes, passing away their whole estates, and leauing all what the dearenesse of their Countrey contayned, drew to this warre 300000. men; all

which, though in Armes, passed from divers Countries and Ports, with that quietnesse, as they seemed rather Pilgrimes, than Souldiers.

Godfrey of Bouillon, Nephew and Heire to the Duke of Lorraine, a Generous Prince, bred in the Warres of the Emperour Henry the Fourth, was the first that offered vp himselfe to this Famous Voyage; and with him his two Brothers, Eustace and Baudouin, by whose examples were drawne Hugh le Grand, Count de Vermondois, brother to Phillip King of France; Robert Duke of Normandy, Robert le Frison Earle of Flanders; Stephen Earle of Blois and Charters; Aimar Bishop of Puy; William Bishop of Orange; Raimond Earle of Tholouse; Baudouin Earle of Hainaut: Baudouin Earle of Rethel; and Garnier Earle of Gretz; Harpin Earle of Bourges; Ysoard Earle of Die; Rambaud Earle of Orange; Guillaum Conte de Forrests; Stephen Conte d'Aumaul; Hugh Earle of St. Pol; Rotron Earle of Perche, and others. These were for France, Germany and the Countries adioyning. Italy had Bohemond Duke of Apulia; and England, Beauchampe with others, whose names are lost; Spaine onely had none; beeing afflicted at that time with the Sarazins.

Personages to furnish themselues for this expedition, sold, or ingaged their possessions. Godfrey sold the Dutchy of Bologne to Hubert Bishop of Liege; and Metz to the Citizens: Besides, he sold the Castle of Sarteny, and Monsa, to Richard Bishop of Verdun; and to the same Bishop, Baudouin his brother sold the Earledome of Verdun. Eustace likewise sold all his liuely-hood to the Church: Herpin Earle of Bourges, his Earledome to Phillip King of France; and Robert morgaged his Dutchy of Normandy, the Earledome of Maine, and all hee had, to his brother King William of England. Whereby the Pope not onely weakned the Empire, with whom the Church had (to the great affliction of Christendome) held a long and bloody businesse, about the inuestitures of Bishops; tooke away and

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infeebled his partisans, abated, as if by Ostracisme, the power of any Prince that might oppose him, but also aduanced the State Ecclesiasticall, by purchasing these great Temporalities (more honorable for the sellers then the buyers) vnto a greater meanes then euer. For by aduising the vndertakers, seeing their action was for Christ and his Church, rather to make ouer their estates to the Clergy, of whom they might againe redeeme the same, and be sure to haue the fairest dealing, then vnto Lay-men; hee effected this worke. VVhereby the third part of the best Fiefs in France came to be possest by the Clergy; and afterwards vpon the same occasion, many things more vnto them in England, especially when Richard the first vndertooke the voyage, who passed ouer diuers Mannors to Hugh Bishop of Durham (and also, for his money) created him Earle of Durham, as appeares in his life.

An Emperour of Germany, two Kings of France with their wives, two Kings of England, and a King of Norway went all thither in person.—This humour was kept vp, and in motion almost 300, yeares, notwithstanding all the discouragements, by the difficulties in passing, the disasters there through contagion arising from a disagreeing clime; and the multitudes of indigent people, cast oftentimes into miserable wants. It consumed infinite Treasure, and most of the brauest men of all our VVest world, and especially France. For Germany and Italy, those who were the Popes friends, and would have gone, were stayed at home by dispensation to make good his partie against the Emperour, who notwithstanding still strugled with him: but in the end, by this meanes the Pope preuailed. Yet these were not all the effects this voyage wrought: The Christians who went out to seeke an enemy in Asia, brought one thence: to the daunger of all Christendome, and the losse of the fairest part thereof. For this long keeping it in a Warre, that had many intermissions with fits of heates and coldnesses (as made by a league, consisting of seuerall Nations, emulous and vnconcurrent in their courses) taught such as were of an entire body, their weaknesses, and the way to Conquer them. This was the great effect, this voyage wrought.

1099. Anno Reg. 12.—And by this meanes King William here was now ridde of an elder brother, and a Competitor; had the possession of Normandy during his reigne, and more absolutenesse, and irregularity in England. Where now, in making vp this great summe to pay Robert, he vsed all the extreame meanes could be devised; as hee had done in all like businesses before. Whereby he incurred the hatred of his people in generall, and especially of the Clergy, being the first King which shewed his successors an euili precedent of keeping their Liuings vacant, and receiuing the profits of them himselfe, as he did that of Canterbury, foure yeares after the death of Lanfranc; and had holden it longer, but that being dangerously sicke at Glocester, the sixt yeare of his Reigne, his Clergie, in the weaknesse of his body, tooke to worke vpon his minde, so as he vowed, vpon his recourry to see all vacancies furnished; which he did, but with so great adoe, as shewed that having escaped the daunger hee would willingly have deceived the Saint: An Anselme, an Italian borne, though bred in Normandy, is in the end preferred to that Sea. But, what with his owne stiffenesse, and the Kings standing on his regalitie, he neuer enjoyed it quietly vnder him. For betweene them two, began the first contestation about the inuestitures of Bishops, and other priviledges of the Church, which gave much to doe, to many of his successors. Anselme not yeelding to the Kings will, forsooke the Land; whereuppon his Bishopricke was reassumed; and the King helde in his hands at one time, besides that of Canterbury, the Bishoprickes of Winchester, Sarum, and eleuen Abbeyes, whereof he tooke all the profits.

The Kings shew of religion.—Hee vsually sold all spirituall preferments to those would give most, and tooke fines of Priests for Fornication: he vexed *Robert Bluet* Bishop of *Lincolne* in suite, till he paid him 5000. pounds. And now the

Clergy, vpon this taxe, complaying their wants, were answered, That they had Shrines of gold in their Churches, and for so holy a worke as this warre against infidels, they should not spare them. Hee also tooke money of Iewes, to cause such of them as were converted, to renounce Christianity, as making more benefit by their vnbeleefe, then their conversion. Wherein hee discovered the worst peece of his nature, Irreligion,

The antiquity of Informers.—This Ranulph gaue a thousand pounds for his Bishopricke, and was the Kings Chancellor.—Profusion euer in want.—Besides his great taxations layd on the Layetie, he sets informers vpon them, and for small transgressions made great penalties. These were his courses for raysing moneys, wherein he fayled not of fit ministers to execute his Will, among whom was chiefe, Ranulph Bishop of Durham, whom he had corrupted with other bishops, to counterpoyse the Clergy, awe the Layety, and countenance his proceedings. All which meanes, he exhausted, eyther in his buildings (which were the new Castle vppon Tine, the City of Carleil, Westminster-Hall, and the walles of the Tower of London) or else in his prodigall gifts to strangers. Twice he appeased the King of France with money, and his Profusion was such, as put him euermore into extreame wants.

This one Act, shewes both his violence and magnanimity: As he was one day hunting, a Messenger comes in all haste out of Normandy, and tells him how the City of Mans was surprised by Hely Conte de la Flesche (who by his wife pretended right there vnto, and was ayded by Fouques d'Angiers, the ancient enemy to the Dukes of Normandy) and that the Castle which held out valiantly for him, was, without present succour, to be rendered. He sends backe the Messenger instantly, wills him to make all the speed he could, to signific to his people in the Castle, that hee would be there within eight dayes, if Fortune hindred him not. And sudainely he askes of his people about him, which way Mans lay, and a Norman being by shewed him: Presently he turnes his

Horse towards that Coast, and in great haste rides on: when some aduised him to stay for fit provisions, and people for his iourney, hee sayd; They who love me, will follow me. And comming to imbarke at Dartmouth, the Maister told him the weather was rough, and there was no passing without eminent danger; Tush, sayd he, set forward, I never yet heard of King that was drowned.

By breake of day he arrived at Harfley, sends for his Captaines and men of Warre to attend him all at Mans, whither hee came at the day appointed. Conte de la Flesche, hauing more right then power, after many skirmishes, was taken by a stratagem, and brought prisoner to Rouen; where, more inraged then dismayde with his fortune, he let fall these words; That had hee not beene taken with a wile, hee would have left the King but little Land on that side the sea; and were hee againe at liberty, they should not so easily take him. Which being reported; the King sent for him, Set him at libertie, gaue him a faire Horse, bad him goe his way, and doe his worst. Which act ouercame the Conte more then his taking, and a quiet end was made betweene them. That he affected things of cost, euen in the smallest matters (is shewed) in the report of his finding fault with his seruants, which brought him a new payre of hose, whereof he demanding the price, was told how they cost three shillings: wherewith being angry, hee asked his seruant if that were a fit price of a payre of hose for a King, and willed him to goe presently and to buy those of a marke; which being brought him, though they were farre worse, yet he liked them much better in regard they were sayd to have cost more. An example of the Weare of time, the humour of the Prince, and the deceipt of the seruant.

The King returnes into *England* with great iollity, as euer bringing home better fortune out of *Normandy*, then from any his Northerne expeditions: Feasts his Nobility with all Magnificence, in his new Hall, lately finished at Westminster, wherewith he found much fault for being built too little;

saying, It was fitter for a Chamber, then a Hall for a King of England, and takes a plot for one farre more spacious to be added vnto it. And in this gayetie of State, when hee had got about all his businesse, betakes him wholly to the pleasure of peace, and being hunting with his brother Henry in the New Forrest, Walter Terell, a Norman, and his kinsman, shooting at a Deere (whether mistaking his marke, or not, is vncertaine) strake him to the heart. And so fell this fierce King, in the 43. yeare of his age, when he had reigned nigh 12. yeares. A Prince, who for the first two yeares of his reigne (whilst held in, by the graue Councell of Lanfranc, and his owne feares) bare himselfe most worthily, and had beene absolute for State; had he not after sought to bee absolute in power, which (meeting with an exorbitant will) makes both Prince and People miserable.

The end of the Life and Reigne of William the second.

The Life, and Reigne, of Henry the first.

1100. Anno Reg. 1.

ENRY the youngest sonne of William the first, beeing at hand, and borne in England (which made much for him) was elected and crowned within foure dayes after his Brothers death; it

being giuen out, that Robert, who should haue succeeded William, was chosen King of Ierusalem, and not like to giue ouer that Kingdome for this. Wherefore to settle Henry in the possession of the Crowne, all expedition possible was vsed, lest the report of Roberts returning from the Holy warres (beeing now in Apulia, comming home) might be noysed abroad to stagger the State; which seemed generally willing to accept of Henry. The first actions of his gouernement

tended all, to baite the people, and sugar their subjection (as his predecessor) vpon the like interposition had done, but with more moderation and aduisednesse: This beeing a Prince better rectified in judgement, and of a Nature more alayed, both by his sufferings, having sighed with other men vnder the hand of oppression, that taught him patience; and also, by having somewhat of the Booke, which got him opinion, and the Title of Beauclearke.

The ministers of exactions punished.—First, to fasten the Clergy, Hee furnishes with fit men, all those Vacancies which his Brother had kept empty, recalls Anselme home to his Bishopricke of Canterbury, and restores them to all whatsoever Priviledges had beene infringed by his Predecessour. And for the Layety, Hee not onely pleased them in their releiuements, but in their passion, by punishing the chiefe Ministers of their exactions, which evermore eases the spleene of the people, glad to discharge their Princes of the euills done them (knowing how they cannot worke without hands) and lay them on their Officers, who have the active power, where themselves have but the passive, and commonly turne as they are mooved.

Ralph Bishop of Durham committed to prison.—Dissolute persons expelled the Court.—Ralph Bishop of Durham, chiefe Counsellor to the late King, a man risen by subtlety of his tongue (from infimous condition, to the highest employments) was committed to a streight and loathsome prison, beeing famed to have put his Maister into all these courses of exaction and irregularities, and remaines amongst the examples of perpetuall ignominy. All dissolute persons are expelled the Court: the people eased of their impositions, and restored to their lights in the night, which after the Coverfeu Bell were forbidden them vppon great penalty, since the beginning of William the first. Many other good orders for the government of the Kingdome are ordayned, and besides to make him the more popular and beloved, he matches in the Royall blood of England, taking to wife Maude, daughter of Margueret, late

Queene of *Scots*, and Neece to *Edward Atheling*, descended from *Edmond Ironside*. A Lady that brought with her the inheritance of goodnesse she had from a blessed mother, and with much adoe was won from her Cloyster, and her vow to God, to descend to the world, and be a wife to a King.

1101. Anno Reg. 2. Robert Duke of Normandy returnes from the Holy warre.—The agreement between Henry and his brother.—Thus stood he entrenched in the State of England, when his brother Robert returning from the Holy warres, and received with great applause into his Dutchy of Normandie, shakes the ground of all this businesse; the first yeare threatning, the second, arriving with a strong Army at Portsmouth, to recouer the Crowne, appertayning vnto him by the course of succession, having a mighty party in England of the Norman Nobility; who eyther mooued with Conscience of their discontent (a sickenesse rising of selfe opinion, and ouer expectation) made any light occasion the motive of revolt. The Armies on both sides meete, and are ready to encounter, when, for auoyding Christian blood, a treaty of peace was mooued, and in the end concluded with these Articles: 1. That seeing Henry was borne since his father was King of England, which made him the eldest son of a King, though the last of a Duke and now invested in the Crowne by the act of the Kingdome, he should enioy the same during his life, paying to Robert 3000. markes per annum. 2. And Robert surviving, to succeed him. 3. That all, who had taken part with Robert should have their pardon, and receive no detriment.

Bishops.—Anselme oppugnes the Kings prerogative.—The King sends to the Pope.—This businesse thus fairely passed over, Robert of a Generous and Free Nature, stayes and Feasts, with his brother here in England, from the beginning of August till Michaelmas, and then returnes into Normandie. When Henry, ridde of this feare, takes to a higher straine of Regality, and now stands upon his Prerogative, for the investitures of

Bishops, and collation of other Ecclesiasticall estates, within his Kingdome, oppugned by *Anselme*, who refused to consecrate such as he preferred, alledging it to be a violation of the sacred Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, lately decreed concerning this businesse: in so much as the King dispatches an Ambassage to Pope *Paschal*, with declaration of the right hee had to such inuestitures, from his Predecessours the Kings of *England*, who euermore conferred the same without interruption, till now of late.

after these Ambassadours, goes likewise to Rome, to make good the opposition. The King banishes him the Kingdome, and takes into his hands his Bishopricke. The Pope stands stifly to the power assumed by the Church, but in the end, seeing the King fast, strong, and lay too farre off out of his way to bee constrained (and hauing much to doe at that time with the Emperour and other Princes, about the same businesse) takes the way of perswasion to draw him to his will, soliciting him with kind Letters, full of protestations, to further any designes of his that might concerne his State, if he would desist from this proceeding.

The King and Anselme accorded.—The King prest with some other occasions, that held him in, and having purposes of that Nature, as by forbearance of the Church, might be the better effected, consents to satisfie the Popes will; and becomes an example to other Princes, of yeelding in this case. Anselme is re-called, after a yeares banishment, and the Ambassadours returne with large remunerations.

—Whilest these things were managing at Rome, there burst out heere a flame, which consumed the parties that raysed it, and brought the King more easily to his ends, then otherwise he could euer haue expected. Robert de Belesme, Earle of Shrewsbury, sonne to Roger de Mongomery (a very fierce youth) presuming of his great estate, and his Friends, fortifies his

Castles of Shrewsbury, Bridgenorth, Tickhill and Arundell; with some other peeces in Wales belonging to him; and combines with the Welch, to oppose against the present State (out of a desire to set all in combustion, for his owne ends, that were altogether vncertayne) which put the King to much trauell and charge; but within thirty dayes, by employing great forces, and terrors mixt with promises, hee scattered his complices, and tooke all his Castles; except that of Arundell, which rendred vppon condition, that the Maister might bee permitted to retire safe into Normandie; which the King easily granted, seeing now hee was but the body of a silly naked Creature, that had lost both Feathers and Wings. And it made well for the King, his going thither. For, from the losing of his owne estate in England, and thereby advancing the Kings reuenues, hee goes to lose Normandy also, and brings it to this Crowne. For, as soone as he came thither, hee fastens amity with one of like condition and Fortunes as himselfe (an exiled man), whose insolency had likewise stript him out of all his estate in England, and much wasted that in Normandy, which was William Earle of Mortaigne, sonne to Robert, halfe brother to King William the first. Who being also Earle of Cornewall, made sure likewise, to have that of Kent: which his Vncle Odon lately held; but being denied it, and also euicted by Law, of certayne other parcels of Land, which hee claymed, retires with great indignation into Normandy, where not only he assaults the Kings Castles, but also vsurpes vpon the State of Richard, the young Earle of Chester, then the Kings Ward. These two Earles combine themselues, and with their Adherents committed many out-ragious actions, to the great spoyle and displeasure of the Countrey, whereof, though they complayned to Duke Robert, they found little remedy. For, he being now growne poore by his out-lauishing humour, began it seemes, to be little respected: or else falne from action, and those greatnesses his expectation had shewed him, was (as commonly great mindes dasht with ill Fortunes are) falne likewise in spirit, and given over to his ease. Where-upon the people of Normandy make their exclamations to the King of England, who sends for his brother Robert, Reprehends him for the sufferance of these disorders; advises him to act the Part of a Prince, and not a Monke: and in conclusion, whether by detention of his Pension, or drawing him, beeing of a facile Nature, to some act of releasing it: sends him home so much discontented, as hee ioynes with these mutinous Earles, and by their instigation, was set into that flame, as he raysed all his vtmost forces to be reuenged on his brother.

1105. Anno Reg. 6. England wins Normandy.—The King, touched in Conscience with the fowlenesse of a fraternall warre (which the world would take, he being the mightier, to proceed out of his designes) stood doubtfull what to doe, when Pope Paschall, by his Letters written with that eloquence (sayeth Malmesbury) wherein hee was quicke, perswaded him, That heerein hee should not make a civill Warre, but doe a Noble and memorable benefite vnto his Countrey: Whereby (paide for remitting the Inuestitures) he held himselfe countenanced in this businesse; whereon, now he sets with more alacrity and resolution. And after many difficulties, and losse of diuers worthy men, in a mighty battaile, neere the Castle of Tenechbray, his enemies with much adoe were all defeated. England won Normandy, and on the same day, by Computation (wherein fortie yeares before) Normandy ouer-came England; such are the turnings in the affaires of men.

Robert Duke of Normandy is imprisoned by King Henry. 1106. Anno Reg. 7.—And here Robert, who stood in a faire possibility of two Crownes, came to be deprived of his Dutchy and all hee had, brought prisoner into England, and committed to the Castle of Cardiffe. Where, to adde to his misery, he had the misfortune of a long life (surviving after he lost himselfe 26. yeares) whereof the most part he saw not, having his eyes put out, whereby he was onely left to his thoughts, a punishment barbarously inflicted on him, for attempting an escape.

Hee was a Prince that gaue out to the world, very few notes of his ill, but many of his Noblenesse and valour, especially in his great voyage, wherein hee had the second command, and was in election to have beene the first preferred to the Crowne of *Ierusalem*, and missed it hardly. Onely the disobedience in his youth shewed to his Father (which yet might proceede from a rough hand borne over him and the animation of others, rather then his owne Nature) sets a staine vppon him: and then, his profusion (which some would have liberality) shewed his impotency, and put him into those courses that overthrew him. All the Revenues of his Dutchy, which should serve for his maintenance, hee sold or engaged, and was vppon passing the Cittie of *Roan* vnto the Cittizens, which made him held vnfit for the government, and gaue occasion to his Brother to quarrell with him.

King Henry Duke of Normandy.—And thus came Henry freed from this feare, an absolute Duke of Normandy: had many yeares of quiet, gathered great Treasure, and entertained good intelligence with the Neighbour Princes. Scotland. by his Match, and doing their Princes good, hee held from doing him hurt; clearing them from vsurpations. Wales, though vnder his Title, yet not subjection, gaue him some exercise of action; which hee ordered with great wisedome. First hee planted within the bodie of that Countrey, a Colony of Flemings, who at that time much pestred this Kingdome: being admitted here in the reigne of King William the first, marrying their Countrie-women, and vsing their helpe in the action of England; where they dayly encreased, in such sort, as gaue great displeasure to the people. By this meanes, both that grievance was eased, and the vse of them made profitable to the State: for being so great a number, and a strong people, they made roome for themselves, and held it in that sort, as they kept the Welch, all about them, in very good awe. Besides, the King tooke for hostages the chiefe mens sonnes of the Countrey, and hereby quieted it. For *France* he stood secure, so long as *Philip* the first liued: who, wholly giuen ouer to his ease and luxury, was not for other attempts, out of that course: but his sonne hee was to looke vnto, whensoeuer he came to that Crowne.

1107. Anno Reg. 8.-With the Earle of Flanders hee had some debate, but it was onely in words, and vpon this occasion. King William the first, in retribution of the good his father in law, Baldouin the first had done, by ayding him in the action of England, gaue him yearely three hundred markes, and likewise continued it to his sonne after him. Now, Robert Earle of Flanders, of a collaterall line, returning emptie from the Holie warres, and finding this summe paide out of England to his Predecessors, demaunds the same of King Henrie, as his due; who not easie to part with money, sends him word; That it was not the custome of the Kings of England to pay tribute: If they gaue pensions, they were temporary, and according to desert. Which answere so much displeased the Earle, that though himselfe liued not to shew his hatred, yet his Sonne did, and ayded afterward William, the sonne of Robert Curtoys, in his attempts, for recouery of the Dutchy of Normandy, against King Henry.

King Henry quarrells with the king of France.—Thus stood this King in the first part of his reigne: in the other, hee had more to doe abroad then at home, where hee had by his excellent wisedome so setled the gouernment, as it held a steady course without interruption, all his time. But now Lewis le Grosse, succeeding his father Phillip the first, gaue him warning to looke to his State of Normandy: and for that hee would not attend a quarrell, hee makes; taking occasion about the City of Gisors, scituate on the Riuer Epre, in the confines of Normandy, whilst Louys was troubled with a stubborne Nobility, presuming vppon their Franchises, within their owne Signiories; whereof there were many, at that time about Paris, as the Contes of Crecy, Pissaux, Dammartini,

Champaigne and others, who by example, and emulation, would bee absolute Lords, without awe of a Maister, putting themselues vnder the protection of *Henry*; who beeing neere to assist them, fostred those humors, which in sicke bodies most shew themselues. But after *Louys*, by yeares gathering strength, dissolued that compact, and made his meanes the more, by their confiscations.

1108. Anno Reg. 9.—The Popes Oath to the Emperour.— The Emperour Hen. 5 marries Maude.—History of France.— The king of France accords the Pope and Emperour.—Now to entertaine these two great Princes in worke, the quarrel betweene the Pope and the Emperour, ministred fresh occasion. The Emperour Henry the fift, having (by the Popes instigation) banded against his Father, Henry the fourth, who associated him in the Empire, and held him prisoner in that distresse, as hee dyed; toucht afterwards with remorse of this act, and reproach of the State, for abandoning the rights of the Empire, leavies sixty thousand foote, and thirty thousand horse, for Italy; constraines the Pope and his Colledge to acknowledge the right of the Empire in that forme as Leo the fourth had done to Otho the second, and before that, Adrian to Charlemaigne, according to the Decree of the Councell of Rome, and made him take his Oathe of fidelity betweene his hands, as to the true and lawfull Emperour. The Pope, so soone as Henry was departed home, assembles a Councell, nullifies this acknowledgement, as done by force, and shortly The Emperour, to make himselfe the after deceased. stronger against his successours, enters into alliance with the King of England, takes to wife his daughter Maude, beeing but fine yeares of age. After this, Calixte son of the Conte de Burgogne, comming to be Pope, and being French (vnto their great applause) assembles a Councell at Reimes; where, by Ecclesiasticall sentence, Henry the fift is declared enemy of the Church and degraded of his Emperiall Dignity. King of England, seeing this Councell was held in Frank,

and composed chiefely of the Gallicane Church, desirous to ouer-maister Louys, incenses his sonne in law the Emperour (stung with this disgrace) to set vppon him (as the Popes chiefe pillar) on one side, and he would assayle him on the other. The Emperor easily wrought to such a businesse, prepares all his best forces: the King of England doth the like. The King of France seeing this storme comming so impetuously vppon him, wrought so with the Princes of Germany, as they, weighing the future mischiefe of a warre vndertaken in a heate with the importance of a kinde Neighbour-hood, aduise the Emperour not to enter there-into, till hee had signifyed to the King of France, the causes of his discontent. Whereupon an Embassage is dispatched: The King of France answeres, That hee grieued much to see the two greatest Pillars of the Church, thus shaken with these dissensions, whereby might be feared, the whole frame would be ruined: that he was a friend to them both, and would gladly bee an inter-dealer for concord, rather then to carry wood to a fire too fierce already, which he desired to extinguish for the good and quiet of Christendome. This Embassage wrought so, as it dis-armed the Emperour, glad to have Louys a mediator of the accord betweene the Pope and him: to the great displeasure of the King of England, who expected greater matters to have risen by this businesse. The accord is concluded at Wormes, to the Popes advantage, to whom the Emperor yeelds vp the right of inuestitures of Bishops and other Benefices. But this was onely to appease, not cure the malady.

King Henry aydes Conte Theobald against the king of France.—The King of England disappoynted thus of the Emperours assistance proceedes notwithstanding in his intentions against Louys. And seeing he fayled of outward Forces, he sets vp a party in his Kingdome, to confront him: ayding Theobald Conte de Champaigne, with so great power, as he stood to doe him much displeasure: besides, hee obtayned a strong side in that kingdome, by his alliances: for Stephen

Earle of *Bloys*, had married his sister *Adela*, to whom this *Theobald* was brother, and had won *Foulke*, Earle of *Aniou* (an important neighbour, and euer an enemy to *Normandie*) to bee his, by matching his sonne *William* to his daughter.

The King of France combines with the Earle of Flanders, against King Henry.—Louys on the other side, fayles not to practise all meanes to vnder-worke Henries estate in Normandie, and combines with William Earle of Flanders, for the restoring of William, the sonne of Robert Curtoys, to whom the same appertayned by right of inheritance; and had the fayrer shewe of his actions, by taking hold on the side of Iustice.

Great and many were the conflicts betweene these two Princes, with the expence of much blood and charge. But in the end, beeing both tyred, a peace was concluded, by the mediation of the Earle of Aniou. And William son to King Henry, did homage to Louys for the Dutchy of Normandy; And William the sonne of Robert Curtoys, is left to himselfe, and desists from his clayme.

disaster.—Vpon the faire cloze of all these troubles, there followed presently an accident, which seasoned it with that sowernesse of griefe, as ouer-came all the ioy of the successe. William the young Prince, the onely hope of all the Norman race, at seuenteene yeares of age, returning into England, in a ship by himselfe, accompanied with Richard his base brother, Mary Countesse of Perch, their sister; Richard Earle of Chester, with his wife, the Kings Neece, and many other personages of honour, and their attendants, to the number of 140. besides 50. Marriners, setting out from Barbfleet, were all cast away at sea: onely a Butcher escaped. The Prince had recouered a Cock-boat, and in possibility to haue beene saued, had not the compassion of his sisters cryes, drawne him backe to the sinking ship to take her in, and perish with his Company.

Which sudden clap of Gods iudgement, comming in a calme of glory, when all these bustlings seemed past ouer, might make

a conscience shrinke with terror, to see oppression and supplantation repayd with the extinction of that, for which so much had been wrought, and the line Masculine of Normandy expired in the third inheritor (as if to begin the fate, layd on all the future succession hitherunto; wherein the third Heire in a right descent, seldome or neuer enioyed the Crowne of England, but that eyther by vsurpation or extinction of the male blood, it received an alteration;) which may teach Princes to observe the wayes of Righteousnesse, and let men alone with their rights, and God with his providence.

Robert de Mellents conspiracie.—After this heavy disaster, this King is sayd never to have beene seene to laugh, though within five moneths after, in hope to restore his issue, he married Adalicia, a beautifull young Lady, daughter to the Duke of Lovaine, and of the house of Lovaine, but never had child by her, nor long rest from his troubles abroad. For this rent at home, crackt all the chayne of his courses in France. Normandy it selfe became wavering, and many adhered to William the Nephew: his great confederates are most regayned to the King of France: Foulke Earle of Aniou quarrels for his daughters Dower: Robert de Mellent his chiefe Friend and Counsellor, a man of great imployment, fell from him, conspired with Hugh Earle of Monfort and wrought him great trouble.

Plantagenet.—But such was his diligence and working spirit, that hee soone made whole all those ruptures againe. The two Earles himselfe surprizes; and Aniou, death: which beeing so important a neighbour, as we may see, by matching a Prince of England there, the King fastens vpon it with another alliance, and descends to marry his daughter (and now onely child, which had beene wife to an Emperour, and desired by the Princes of Lombardy and Loraine) to the now Earle Geffery Plantagenet, the sonne of Foulke.

1126. Anno Reg. 28.—The King of France to Fortifie his opposition, entertaynes William the Nephew, where now all

the danger lay; and aydes him in person, with great power, to obtayne the Earledome of *Flanders*, whereunto he had a fayre Title, by the defaillance of issue in the late Earle *Baldouin*, slayne in a battell in *France* against King *Henry*. But *William*/ as if heire also of his fathers fortunes, admitted to the Earldome, miscarried in the rule, was deprived, and slaine in battaile; and in him all of *Robert Curtoys* perished.

Henrie, was the setling of the succession vppon Maude (of whome hee lived to see two sonnes borne) for which he convokes a Parliament in England, wherein an Oath is ministred to the Lords of this Land, to bee true to her and her heires, and acknowledge them as the right inheritor of the Crowne. This Oath was first taken by David, King of Scots, vncle to Maude, and by Stephen, Earle of Bollogne and Mortaine, Nephew to the King, on whom hee had bestowed great possessions in England, and advanced his brother to the Bishoprick of Winchester. And to make all more fast, this Oath was afterward ministred againe at Northampton in another Parliament.

So that now all seemes safe and quiet, but his owne sleepes, which are saide to haue beene very tumultuous, and full of affrightments, wherein hee would often rise, take his sword, and be in act, as if he defended himselfe against assaults of his person, which shewed, all was not well within.

His gouernment in peace.—The first vse of Progresses.— His gouernment in peace, was such as rankes him in the list amongst our Kings of the fairest marke: holding the Kingdome so well ordered, as during all his reigne, which was long, he had euer the least to doe at home. At the first, the competition with his brother, after, the care to establish his succession, held him in, to observe all the best courses, that might make for the good and quiet of the State; having an especiall regarde to the due administration of Iustice, that no corruption or oppression might disease his people, whereby thinges were carried with an euennesse, betweene the Great men and the Commons, as gaue all, satisfaction. Hee made divers Progresses, into remote parts of the Land, to see how the State was ordered. And for that purpose, whensoeuer he was in *England*, hee kept no certaine residence, but solemnized the great Festivals in severall, and farre distant places of the Kingdome, that all might partake of him.

The beginning of Parliaments.—He assembles the first Parliament after the Conquest.—His reformation.—And for that hee would not wrest any thing by an Imperiall power from the Kingdome (which might breed vlcers of dangerous nature) he tooke a course to obtaine their free consents to serue his occasions, in their generall assemblies of the three Estates of the Land, which hee first conuoked at Salisburie, Anno Reg. 15. and which had from his time the name of Parliament, according to the manner of Normandie, and other States, where Princes keepe within their circles to the good of their people, their owne glorie, and security of their posterity.

His meanes to raise monies.—Hee was a Prince that lived formally himselfe, and repressed those excesses in his subjects which those times entertained, as the wearing of long haire, which though it were a gayetie of no charge (like those sumptuous braueries, that waste Kingdomes in peace) yet for the vndecencie thereof, hee reformed it, and all other dissolutenesse. His great businesses, and his wants taught him frugality, and wearinesse of expence; and his warres beeing seldome invasive, and so not getting, put him often to vse hard courses for his suppliments of treasure. Towards the marriage of his daughter with the Emperour, and the charge of his warre, hee obtained (as it might seeme at his first Parliament at Salisbury) Anno Reg. 15. three shillings vppon euerie hide-land, but hee had no more in all his reigne, except one supply for his warres afterward in France. Hee kept Bishoprickes and Abbeyes voyde in his hands; as that of Canterbury, fine yeares together. By an Act of Parliament

at London, Anno Reg. 30. hee had permission to punish Marriage, and incontinency of Priestes, whome (for fines not-withstanding) he suffered to enioy their wives: but heereby he displeased the Clergie, and disappointed that reformation.

Punishments which were Mutilation of members, hee made pecuniary. And by reason of his often and long beeing in Normandie, those provisions for his house, which were vsed to bee paide in kinde, were rated at certaine prizes and received in money, by the consent of the State, and to the great content of the Subject; who by reason that many dwelling farre off throughout all Shires of England, were much molested with satisfying the same otherwyse. He resumed the liberties of hunting in his Forrests which / tooke vp much fayre ground of the Kingdome; and besides renuing for penalties, made an Edict, That if any man in his owne private woods, killed the Kings Deere, hee should forfeit his woods to the King. But he permitted them inclosures for Parkes, which vnder him seemes to haue had their Originall, bythe example of that of his at Wood-stocke, the multitude whereof grew to be afterwards a disease in the Kingdome. (Tilburiensis de Scaccario.)

His expences.—His expences were chiefly in his Warres, and his many and great Fortifications in *Normandy*. His buildings were the Abbey of *Reading*, the Mannor of *Woodstocke*, and the great inclosure of that Parke, with a stone wall seauen miles about.

His Counsellors.—The magnificent buildings of Roger Bishop of Sarum.—The most eminent men of his Councell were, Roger Bishop of Sarum, and the Earle of Mellent, both men of great experience in the affayres of the World. Roger was ever as Vice-Roy, had the whole management of the Kingdome in his absence, which was sometimes three and foure yeares together. Hee had managed the Kings money and other affayres of his house, when hee was a poore Prince, and a private man; whereby hee gayned an especiall trust with him

euer after, and discharged his part with great policy and vnderstanding; had the title of *Iusticiarius totius Angliæ*. Of whose magnificence and spacious minde, wee haue more memorialls left in notes of stone, then of any one Man, Prince, or other of this Kingdome. The ruines yet remayning of his stately structures, especially that of the *Deuises* in *Wiltshire*, shewes vs the carkasse of a most *Roman*-like Fabricke. Besides, hee built the Castles of *Mamsbury* and *Shirburne*, two strong and sumptuous peeces: new walled and repayred the Castle of *Salisbury*, and all these hee liued to see rent from him, and seased into the next Kings hands, as beeing things done out of his part, and lye now deformed heapes of rubble. Besides, hee walled old *Salisbury* and repayred the Church there.

Robert Mellent an especiall Counsellor to Hen. 1.—The example of frugality in great men doth much good in a Kingdome.—Robert Earle of Mellent, was son of Roger Beaumont; who of all the great men which followed William the first in his civill Warres of Normandy, refused to attend him in his expedition for England, though with large promises inuited thereunto, saying, The inheritance left him by his predecessors, was sufficient to maintaine his estate at home; and he desired not to thrust himselfe into other mens possessions abroad. But his Son Robert was of another minde, and had a mighty estate both in England and Normandy. Was a man of great direction in Counsell, and euer vsed in all the weighty affayres of the State. His frugality both in apparell and dyet, was of such example, beeing a man of eminent note, as did much good to the Kingdome in those dayes. But in the end hee fell into disgrace, (the fate of Court, and eminency) opposed against the King, and dyed bereft of his estate.

King Henries death.—Besides these, the King was serued with a potent and martiall Nobility, whom his spirit led to affect those great designes of his in France, for the preservation of his State in Normandy. Whither in the 32. yeare of his reigne, hee makes his last voyage to dye there, and in his

passage thither, happened an exceeding great Ecclipse of the Sun, which was taken to fore-signific his death; for that it followed shortly after, in the thirty fine yeare of his reigne.

His personage.—He was of a gracefull personage, quickeeyed, browne hayre (a different complexion from his brothers) and of a close compacted temperament, wherein dwelt a minde of a more sollide constitution, with better ordered affections. Hee had, in his youth, some taste of learning; but onely, as if to set his stomacke, not to ouer-charge it therewith. But this put many of his subjects into the fashion of the booke, and divers learned men flourished in his time.

His issue.—He had by Maude his wife the daughter of Malcolin the third, King of Scotland, none other children but Maude and William, of whom any certayne mention is made: but hee is sayd to have had of children illegitimate seven sonnes, and as many daughters, which shewes vs his incontinency: two of which sonnes of most especiall note, Robert and Raynold were Earles, the one of Glocester (a great Champion and defender of his sister Maud the Empresse) the other Earle of Cornwall, and Baron of Castle-combe. His daughters were all married to Princes and Noble men of England and France, from whom descended many worthy Families, as divers Writers report.

The end of the Life, and Reigne of Henry the first. |

The Life, and Reigne, of King Stephen.

1135. Anno Reg. 1.

HE Line Masculine of the Norman extinct, and onely a daughter left, and she married a Frenchman, Stephen Earle of Bologne and Mortagne, sonne of Stephen Earle of Blois, and of Adela daughter

to William the first, was (notwithstanding the former oath

taken for *Maud*) elected by the State, and inuested in the Crowne of *England*, within thirty dayes after the death of *Henry*. Vpon what reasons of Councell, wee must gather out of the circumstances of the courses held in that time.

Reasons why Maude was not crowned.—Reasons why Stephen Earle of Bullogne was crowned King.—Some imagine, The States refused Maude, for not beeing then the custome of any other Kingdom Christian (whose Kings are annoynted) to admit women to inherit the Crowne; and therefore they might pretend to be freed from their oath, as being vnlawfull. But Roger, Bishop of Salisbury, one of the principall men then in Counsell, yeelded another reason for the discharge of this oath, which was That seeing the late King had married his daughter out of the Realme, without the consent thereof, they might lawfully refuse her. And so was Stephen, having no title at all, but as one of the blood, by meere election, advanced to the Crowne. For if he could clayme any right in the Succession, as beeing the sonne of Adela, then must Theobald, Earle of Blois, his elder brother, haue beene preferred before him; and Henry Fitz Empresse (if they refused the Mother) was neerer in blood to the right Stem, then eyther. But they had other reasons that ruled that time. Stephen was a man, and of great possessions, both in England and France, had one brother Earle of Blois, a Prince of great estate; another, Bishop of Winchester (the Popes Legat in England, of power eminent), was popular for his affabilitie, goodly personage, and activenesse: and therefore acceptable to the Nobility, who, at that time, were altogether guided by the Clergy; and they (by the working of the Bishop of Winchester, induced to make choyce of him) having an opinion, that by preferring one, whose Title was least, would make his obligation the more to them; and so, they might stand better (secured of their liberties) then vnder such a one. as might presume of an hereditary succession. And to be the more sure there, before his admittance to the Crowne, he takes a private oath before the Bishop of Canterbury, to confirme the

ancient liberties of the Church; and had his brother to vndertake betwixt God and him, for the performance thereof.

King Stephen possesses the Treasure of Henry 1.—His first Parliament at Oxford.—But being now in the possession of the Kingdome, and all the Treasure his Vncle had in many yeares gathered, which amounted to one hundred thousand pounds of exquisite silver, besides plate and iewells, of inestimable value: After the Funerals performed at Reading, hee assembles a Parliament at Oxford, wherein, Hee restored to the Clergy, all their former liberties and freed the Laity from their tributes; exactions, or whatsoever grievances opprest them, confirming the same by his Charter, which faythfully to observe, hee tooke a publique oath before all the Assembly: Where, likewise the Bishops swore fealty vnto him, but with this condition; So long as hee observed the Tenour of this Charter.

And now as one that was to make good the hold that he had gotten, with power, and his sword, prepares for all assaults, which he was sure to haue come vpon him. And first grants licence, to all that would, to build Castles vpon their owne Lands, thereby to Fortifie the Realme, and breake the force of any ouer-running inuasion, that should master the field: Which in setled times might be of good effect, but in a season of distraction and part-taking, very dangerous. And being to subsist by Friends, hee makes all he could: Creates new Lords, giues to many great Possessions, and having a full purse spares for no cost to buy love and fidelitie: A purchase very vncertaine when there may be other conveyances made of more strength to carry it.

Two wayes he was to looke for blowes: From Scotland on one side, and France on the other: Scotland wanted no instigations: David their King mooued both by Nature and his oath to his Neece, turnes head vppon him: Stephen was presently there, with the / shew of a strong Armie, and appeased him with the restitution of Cumberland, and his sonne Henry Prince of Scotland, with the Earledome of Huntingdon: which,

with that of Northumberland (as Scottish VVriters say) was to descend vnto him by the right of his Mother Maude, who was daughter to Waltheof Earle of Huntingdon, and of Iudith Neece to William the first, by whose gift he had that Earledome, and was the sonne of Syward Earle of Northumberland. And for this the Prince of Scotland, tooke his Oath of fealty to King Stephen which the father refused to doe, as having first sworne to Maude the Empresse. Though otherwise hee might be indifferent, in respect that Stephen had married likewise his Neece, which was Maude daughter to the Earle of Bologne and of Mary sister to this King Dauid, who by this meane was Vncle both to Maude the Queene, and Maude the Empresse.

The King, returning from this Voyage, found some defection of his Nobilitie, which presently put him into another action, that entertayned him sometimes: After which, hee falls dangerously sicke, in so much as hee was noysed to bee dead, by which sickenesse, hee lost more then his Health: For his Friends, put in danger thereby, cast to seeke another party to beare them vp: it weakened Aniou, and sets him on to surprize certayne peeces in Normandy, to prepare for the recouerie of his VViues right, and made all this Kingdome wauer. Thus was his first yeare spent, which shewed how the rest of eighteene would prooue, wherein wee are to haue no other representations, But of revolts, beseeging of Castles, surprizings, recoverings, losings againe, with great spoiles, and destruction; in briefe, a most miserable face of a distracted State, that can yeelde no other notes of instruction, but such as are generall in all times of like disposition; and therefore heerein wee may the better forbeare the rehearsall of many particulars, beeing all vnder one head of action, and like Nature.

sonne of *Henry* the first.—The King, having recovered, would make the world know hee was alive, and presently passes with Forces into *Normandy*, over-came the Earle of *Aniou* in

battaile; after makes peace with him, and vpon renouncing of the claime of Maude, covenants to give him 5000. markes per annum: he entertaines amity with King Louys the seuenth, and causes his sonne Eustace to doe him homage for the Dutchy of Normandy, wherein he was inuested: besides, to content his elder brother Theobald, Earle of Blois, hee gives him a pension of 2000. markes, and so returnes againe into England, to a VVarre against Scotland, which, in the meane time, made incursions on this Kingdome; where whilst hee was held busie in worke, Robert Earle of Glocester, base sonne to Henry the first, a man of high spirit, great direction, and indefatigable industry (an especiall actor that performed the greatest part, in these times, for his sister Maude) had surprized the Castle of Bristow, and procured Confederates to make good other peeces abroad in divers parts: as William Talbot the Castle of Hereford; Paynel the Castle of Lodlow; Louell that of Cary; Moone the Castle of Dunster; Robert de Nichol that of Warham, Eustace Fitz Iohn that of Walton, and William Fitz Allan the Castle of Shrewsbury.

King Stephen represses the Conspirators.—Stephen leaues the prosecution of the Scottish VVarres to Thrustan Archbishop of Yorke, whom he made his Lieutenant, and furnished with many Valiant Leaders, as Walter Earle of Albemary, William Peuerell of Nottingham; Walter and Gilbert Lacies: Himselfe brauely attended, bends all his power to represse the Conspirators, which hee did in one expedition; recouers all the Castles (by reason of their distance, not able to succour one another) and draue the Earle of Glocester home to his sister into Aniou.

He defeited the Scots. 1138. Anno Reg. 3.—No lesse successes had his forces in the North, against the Scots, whom in a great battaile they dis-comfeited and put to flight: Which great Fortunes meeting together in one yeare, brought foorth occasion of bad, in that following: for now presuming more of himselfe, he fell vpon those rockes that rent all his greatnesse.

He calls a Councell at Oxford, where occasion was given to put him out with the Clergie, that had onely set him into the State. The Bishops vpon the permission of building Castles, so out-went the Lords in Magnificence, strength, and number of their erections, and especially the Bishop of Salisburie, that their greatnesse was much maligned by / them, putting the King in head, that all these great Castles, especially of Salisbury, the Vies, Shyrburne, Malmesbury, and Newarke, were onely to entertayne the party of Maude: whereupon the King, whose feares were apt to take fire, sends for the Bishop of Salisbury (most suspected) to Oxford. The Bishop, as if fore-seeing the mischiefe comming to him, would gladly haue put off his iourney, and excused it by the debility of his age, but it would not serue his turne: thither he comes, where his seruants, about the taking vp of Lodgings, quarrell with the seruants of the Earle of Brittaine, and from words fall to blowes, so that in the bickering, one of them was slaine, and the Nephew of the Earle dangerously VVounded. Whereupon the King sends for the Bishop, to satisfie his Court, for the breach of peace, made by his servants: The satisfaction required, was the yeelding up the keyes of his Castles, as pledges of his fealty; but that being stood vpon, the Bishop with his Nephew, Alexander Bishop of Lincolne, were restrayned of their liberty, and shortly after sent as prisoners to the Castle of the Deuises, whither (the Bishop of Eley, another of his Nephewes) had retired himselfe before. (1140. Anno Reg. 5.-The King seizes vpon the Bishops Castles and Treasure.) The King seizes into his hands his Castles of Salisbury, Shyrburne, Malmesbury, & after three dayes assault, the Deuises was likewise rendred; besides, he tooke all his Treasure, which amounted to fortie thousand markes.

The Popes Legat a Bishop takes part with Bishops against the King his brother. (Malmesbury.)—This action being of an extraordinary strayne, gaue much occasion of rumour; some said: The King had done well in seizing vpon these Castles; it

being vnfit, and against the Canons of the Church, that they who were men of Religion and peace should raise Fortresses for Warre, and in that sort as might be prejudiciall to the King. Against this was the Bishop of Winchester, the Popes Legat, taking rather the part of his function, then that of a brother: saying: That if the Bishops had transgressed, it was not the King but the Canons, that must judge it: that they ought not to be deprived of their possessions, without a publique Ecclesiasticall Councell; that the King had not done it, out of the zeale of Iustice, but for his owne benefit, taking away that which had beene built vpon the Lands, and by the charge of the Church to put it into the hands of Lay-men, little affected to Religion. And therefore to the end, the power of the Canons might bee examined, hee appoynts a Councell to bee called at Winchester, whither the King is summoned: And thither repayre most of all the Bishops of the Kingdome, where first is read the Commission of the Legatine power, granted by Pope Innocent to the Bishop of Winchester, who there openly vrges the indignity offered to the Church, by the imprisoning of these Bishops: An act most haynous and shamefull for the King, that in the peace of his Court, through the instigation of euill ministers, would thus lay hands vpon such men, spoile them of their estates: Which was a violence against God. And that seeing the King would yeeld to no admonitions hee had at length called this Councell, where they were to consult what was to be done: that for his part, neither the love of the King, though his brother, nor the losse of his living, or danger of his life, should make him faile in the execution of what they should decree.

The King, standing vpon this cause, sends certayne Earles to this Councell, to know why hee was called thither: Answere was made by the Legat: That the King, who was subject to the faith of Christ, ought not to take it ill, if by the ministers of Christ, he was called to make satisfaction, being conscious of such an offence as that age had not knowne: that it was for times of the Gentiles, for Bishops to be imprisoned, and deprived of their

possessions; and therefore they should tell the King his brother, That if he would vouchsafe to yeeld consent to the Councell, it should be such by the helpe of God, as neither the Roman Church, the Court of the King of France, nor the Earle Theobald, brother to them both (a man wise, and religious) should, in reason dislike it: That the King should doe advisedly to render the reason of his act, and vndergo a Canonicall indgement: that hee ought in duty to favour the Church, into whose bosome being taken, hee was advanced to the Crowne without any military hand.

The Kings Reply.—With which answere the Earles departed, attended with Alberic de Ver, a man exercised in the Law; and having related the same, they returned with the Kings reply: which Alberic vtters, and vrges the iniuries Bishop Roger had done to the King: how he seldome came to his Court: that his men, presuming on his power, had offred violence to the nephew and servants of the Earle of Brittaine, and to the servants of Herui de Lyons, a man of | that Nobility and stoutnes, as would never voutsafe to come vpon any request to the late King and yet for the love of this, was desirous to see England: where, to have this violence offred was an iniury to the King, and dishonour to the Realme; that the Bishop of Lincolne, for the ancient hatred to the Earle of Brittaine, was the author of his mens sedition: that the Bishop of Salisbury secretly fauoured the Kings enemies; and did but subtlely temporize, as the King had found by divers circumstances: especially when Roger de Mortimer, sent with the Kings forces in the great danger of Bristow, hee would not lodge him one night in Malmesbury; that it was in every mans mouth, as soone as the Empresse came, he and his Nephewes would render their Castles onto her. That he was arrested, not as a Bishop, but a servant to the King, and one that administred his procurations, and received his monies. That the King tooke not his Castles by violence, but the Bishop voluntarily rendred them, to avoid the calumnie of their tumults raysed in his Court: If the King found some mony in his Castles,

he might lawfully seize on it, in regard Roger had collected it out of the revenues of the King his Vncle and predecessor: and the Bishop willingly yeelded up the same, as well as his Castles, through feare of his offences; and of this, wanted not witnesses of the Kings part, who desired that the covenants made betweene him and the Bishop, might remaine ratified.

Against this, Bishop Roger opposes: That he was never servant to the King, nor received his monies; and withall added threatnings, as a man, not yet broken, though bent with his fortunes: that if he found not instice for his wrongs in that Councell, hee would bring it to the hearing of a greater Court.

The Legat mildly, as he did other things, said: That all what was spoken against the Bishops, ought first to be examined in the Ecclesiasticall Councell, whither they were true or no, before sentence should have bin given against them contrary to the Canons; and therefore the King should (as it is lawfull in iudiciall trials) revest the Bishops in their former Estates, otherwise by the law of Nations being disseised, they shall not hold their Plea.

After much debate, the Kings cause was (vpon a motion) put off till the next day, to the end the Arch-bishop of Roan, an especiall instrument for the King, might bee there; who deliuering his opinion, said: That if the Bishops could rightly proue by the Canons, they ought to have Castles, they should hold them; but if they could not, it proceeded of great improbity to striue to do otherwise. And be it (said he) their right to have them; yet in a suspected time, according to the manner of other Nations, all great men ought to deliver the keyes of their Fortresses, to be at the Kings pleasure, who is to fight for the peace of all. But it is not their right by the decree of the Canons to have castles; and if by the Princes indulgence it be tollerated, yet in a time of necessity, they ought to deliver the Keyes.

The Legats and Archbishops submission.—The Lawyer Alberic addes; That it was signified to the King, how the Bishops threatned, and had furnished some to go to Rome against him.

But, said he, the King would have you know, that none of you presume to do it: for if any go out of England, contrary to his will, and the dignitie of the Kingdome, it will be hard returning. In conclusion the Councell brake vp, nothing was done. The Bishops durst not excommunicate the King, without the Popes privity; and besides, they saw the swords too busic about them; yet failed not the Legat, and the Arch-bishop to prosecute their parts, and from authority, fell to prayer; and (at the Kings feete, in his Chamber) besought him, that he would pitty the Church, pitty his owne soule and his fame; not to suffer dissention to be, betweene the Kingdome and the Priesthood. The King returned them faire words, but held what he had gotten.

Shortly after, through griefe, dyed the Bishop of Salisbury, and (according to the fate of ouer-eminent and greedy Officers) vnpittied. He was a man (in his latter time) noted of much corruption, and vnsatiable desire of hauing. For whom, the present King in the beginning of his Reigne had done very much, making one of his Nephewes Chancellour, the other Treasurer, and vpon his suite, gaue to himselfe the Borough of Malmsbury; insomuch as the King would say to his Familiars about him: If this man will begge thus still, I will give him halfe the Kingdome but I will please him: and first shall hee be weary of crauing, ere I of granting. And sure the King had great reason to suspect his adhering to Maude, whose part hee began to fauour: onely, out of the hatred he bare to Winchester; who yet was content to forsake his owne brother, in regard, by his / ingagement he was preferred to the Crowne, rather then to lose his good will, and the rest of the Clergy.

Maude the Empresse conducted into England.—But yet this breaking of the King into the Church (which had made him) vtterly dissolued him. For presently heereuppon all his power fell asunder: The Empresse found now a way open to let her in, and the Earle of Glocester presuming of a sure side,

conducted her into *England* onely with 150. men: put her into the Castle of *Arundell*, and himselfe (attended but with twelue horse) passed away cleare through all the Country to *Bristow*: and from thence to *Glocester*, where he had leisure without opposition, to rayse all the Country to take part with the Empresse; who, from *Arundell* Castle, was afterward (by the Legat himselfe, and the Kings permission) conueyed to *Bristow*: received with all obedience, grew daily in strength as she went, and came at length to her brother (who had taken in *Hereford*, made himselfe strong with the Welsh, and setled those parts) to gather vp more of the Kingdome, by shewing herselfe and her power in divers places.

Stephen, having no part cleare (by reason the Castles, vpon which hee spent both his time and meanes, lay so thicke blockes in his way) as hee could not make that speede to stop this streame, as otherwise he would: holding it not safe to goe forward, and leave dangers behind, that might ouer-take him. And first hee layes siege to the Castle of Wallingford, which, Brian sonne to the Earle of Glocester, held against him: then to the Castle of Bristow and other places, working much, but effecting little: which seeing, to get time and stagger the swift proceeding of this new received Princesse, hee causes a treaty of peace to be propounded at Bathe, where the Legat (who likewise earnestly solicited the same) with the Arch-bishop of Canterbury, were appointed Commissioners for the King; and the Earle of Glocester for the Empresse; but nothing was effected, both returne to make good their sides. The Empresse seekes to recouer more, the King what he had lost. And lest the North parts might fall from him, and the King of Scots come on, hee repaires thitherward: And finding the Castle of Lincolne possest by Ralph Earle of Chester, who had married a daughter of the Earle of Glocester, and holding it not safe to bee in the hands of such a Maister, in such a time, seekes to take it in by force. The Earle of Chester, who held newtrall, attempting nothing against the King, tooke it ill, and stood

vpon his defence: but being ouer-layd by power, conueyes himselfe out of the Castle, leanes his brother and wife within to defend it, and procures ayde of his Father in Law the Earle of *Glocester*, to succour him.

The Earle takes in hand this businesse, sets out of Glocester with an army of Welchmen and others, attended with Hugh Bigod and Robert de Morley, ioynes with the Earle of Chester, marches to Lincolne, where, in the battaile, King Stephen was taken, carried prisoner to Glocester, presented to the Empresse, and by her sent to bee kept in the Castle of Bristow, but in all Honourable fashion, till his attempts to escape layde fetters on him.

Shee labours the Legat for the Crowne of England.-Hereupon the Empresse (as at the top of her fortune) labours the Legat to bee admitted to the Kingdom, as the daughter of the late King, to whom the Realme had taken an oath to accept for soueraigne in the succession; and wrought so, as a Parle was appointed for this purpose, on the Playne neere to Winchester, where in a blustering sad day (like the fate of the businesse) they met; and the Empresse swore, and made affidation to the Legat, that all the great businesses, and especially the donation of Bishoprickes and Abbeys, should bee at his disposing if he (with the Church) would receive her as Queene of England, and hold perpetuall fidelity vnto her. The same oath and affidation tooke likewise her brother Robert Earle of Glocester, Brian his sonne, Marques of Wallingford, Miles of Glocester (after Earle of Hereford) with many others for her. Nor did the Bishop sticke to accept her as Queene (though she neuer came to bee so), and with some few other, made likewise affidation for his part, that so long as shee infringed not her couenant, hee would also hold his fidelity to her.

The next day, shee was received with solemne procession into the Bishops Church at *Winchester*, the Bishop leading her on the right hand, and *Bernard* Bishop of Saint *Dauids* on the left. There were present many other Bishops, as *Alexander*

Bishop of Lincolne, / and Nigel Bishop of Eley (the Nephewes of Roger, lately imprisoned) Robert Bishop of Bathe, and Robert Bishop of Worcester, with many Abbots.

The Legats speech to the Clergy, to Crowne the Empresse.— Within a few dayes after came Theobald Archbishop of Canterbury, to the Empresse inuited by the Legat; but deferred to doe fealty vnto her, as holding it vnworthy his person and place, without having conferred first with the King. And therefore hee, with many Prelats, and some of the Laiety (by permission obtained) went to the King to Bristow. The Councell brake vp. the Empresse keepes her Easter at Oxford. being her owne Towne. Shortly vppon Easter a Councell of the Clergy is againe called to Winchester, where the first day the Legat had secret conference with euery Bishop apart, and then with euery Abbot and other, which were called to the Councell. The next day he makes a publike speech, Shewing how the cause (of their Assembly) was to consult for the peace of their Country, in great danger of otter ruine. Repeates the flourishing reigne of his Vncle, the peace, wealth and honour of the kingdom in his time; and how that renowned King, many yeares before his death, had received an oath both of England and Normandy, for the succession of his daughter Maude and her issue; but, saith he, after his decease, his daughter being then in Normandy, making delay to come into England, where (for that it seemed long to expect) order was to be taken for the peace of the Country, and my brother was permitted to Reigne. And although I interposed my selfe a surety betweene God and him, that hee should honour and exalt the holy Church, keepe and ordaine good Lawes; Yet, how he hath behaued himselfe in the Kingdome, it grieves me to remember, and I am ashamed to repeate. And then recounts he all the Kings courses with the Bishops, and all his other mis-governments. And then, sayd he, every man knowes I ought to love my mortall brother, but much more the cause of my immortall Father; and therefore seeing God hath shewed his judgement on my brother, and suffered him

(without my knowledge) to fall into the hand of Power: that the Kingdome may not miscarry for want of a Ruler, I have called you all hither by the power of my Legation. Yesterday the cause was moved in secret, to the greatest part of the Clergy, to whom the right appertaines to elect and ordaine a Prince. And therefore after having invoked (as it is meete,) the Divine ayde, Wee elect for Queene of England the daughter of the peacefull, glorious, rich, and in our time the incomparable King; and to her, we promise our faith and allegiance.

When all, who were present, eyther modestly gaue their voyce, or by their silence contradicted it not, the Legat addes: The Londoners, who are (in respect of the greatnesse of their City) as among the optimacy of England, wee have by our messengers summoned, and I trust they will not stay beyond this day: to morrow we will expect them.

The Londoners came, were brought into the Councell, shewed How they were sent from the Communalty of London, not to bring contention, but prayer, that the King their Lord might be freed from captivity, and the same did all the Barons (received within their Liberties) earnestly beseech of my Lord Legate, and all the Clergy there present. The Legat answeres them at large and loftly, according to his speech the day before, and added, That the Londoners who were held in that degree in England, ought not to take their parts, who had forsaken their Lord in the Warre, by whose Councell the Church hath beene dishonoured, and who favoured the Londoners but for their owne gaine.

Then stands there up a Chaplaine to Queene Maude, wife to Stephen, and delivers a letter to the Legat, which he silently read, and then sayd aloud, That it was not lawfull in the assembly of so many reverend and religious persons the same should be publikely read, containing matter reprehensible. The Chaplaine not to faile in his message, boldly reads the Letter himselfe, which was to this effect: That the Queene earnestly intreates all the Clergy there Assembled, and namely the Bishop of Winchester, the Brother of her Lord, to restore him vnto the

Kingdome, whom wicked men, which were also his subjects, held Prisoner.

To this the Legat answeres (as to the *Londoners*) and shortly after the Councell brake vp, wherein many of the Kings part were excommunicated: namely *William Martell*, an especiall man about the King, who had much displeased the Legat.

Hereupon a great part of England willingly accepted of Maude, in whose businesses her brother Robert imployes all his diligence and best care, reforming Iustice, restoring the Lawes of England, promising relieuements, and whatsoever might be to win the people; the Legat seconding all his courses.

The Legat leaves the Empresse.—Is intreated with teares by the Oueene regnant.—But now, shee being at the poynt of obtaining the whole Kingdome; all came suddenly dasht by her ouer-hauty and proud carriage, and by the practise of the Londoners, who adhering to the other side, began openly to inueigh against her, who had displeased them, and they had plotted to surprize her in their Citie; whereof shee hauing notice, secretly withdrawes herselfe (accompanied with her Vncle Dauid, King of Scots, who was come to visit her and her brother Robert) vnto Oxford, a place of more security. The Legat himselfe takes, or makes an occasion to bee slacke in her cause, vpon her denying him a suite for his Nephew Eustace, the sonne of Stephen, about the inheritance of his Earledome of Mortaigne in Normandy. Besides, the Queene regnant, watchfull ouer all oportunities, found meanes to parle with the Legat, Sets upon him with her teares, intreaty, promises and assurance for the Kings reformation; in so much as she recalled him to the affection of Nature, brought him about againe to absolue such of the Kings part, as he had lately excommunicated

The Empresse besieged at Oxford, the Earle of Glocester taken Prisoner.—The Earle of Glocester seeing this suddaine and strange relaps of their affaires, striues by all meanes to hold vp Opinion, and re-quicken the Legats disposition, which

to keepe sound, was all. Hee brings the Empresse to Winchester, settles her, and her guard, in the Castle, where she desires to speake with the Legat, who first delayes, then denies to come. Whereupon they call their best friends about them. Queene Maude and the Lords incompasse the Towne, and cut off all victuall from the Empresse, so that in the end, the Earle of Glocester wrought meanes to have her conveyed from thence to the Vies, but himselfe was taken, and in him most of her.

This sets the sides both euen againe into the Lists of their tryall: the two Prisoners are to redeeme each other: The disproportion of the quality betweene them, shewed yet there was an euennesse of power, and the Earle would not consent to the Kings deliuery (who onely in that was to have the Precedence) but vppon most secure cautions. The Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Legat, vndertooke to yeelde themselues Prisoners for him, if the King released him not, according to his promise: But that would not serue the turne, till they both had written their Briefes to the Pope, to intimate the course that was taken heerein, and deliuered the same vnto him, vnder their hands and seales. So that, if the King should, as he might not care, to hold the Bishops in Prison: yet the Pope, if hard measure were offered, might relieue them. Which shewes the advantage of credit in the businesse, lay on this side, and the King was to have his fetters though at liberty.

1142. Anno Reg. 7.—The Queene and Eustace, her sonne the Prince, vpon the inlargement of Stephen, remaine pledges in the Castle of Bristow till the Earle were released, which was done vppon the Kings comming to Winchester. VVhere the Earle in familiar conference, was, by all art possible, solicited to forsake the party of Maude, with promise of all preferments of honour and estate: but nothing could mooue him beeing fixt to his courses, and rather would hee haue beene content to remayne a perpetuall Prisoner, then that

Stephen should have beene released, had not his sister wrought him to this conclusion.

The Legat, after this, calles a Councell at *London*, where the Popes letters, written vnto him, are openly read, which argue him (but mildly) of some neglect of his brothers releasing, and exhort him to vse all meanes Ecclesiasticall and Secular, to set him at libertie.

King Stephens complaint.—The King himselfe came into the Councell, complaynes, How his subjects, to whom hee had neuer denied Iustice, had taken him, and reproachfully afflicted him even to death. The Legate, with great eloquence, labours to excuse his owne courses: Alledging, How hee received not the Empresse by his Will, but necessity: that presently upon the Kings over-throw, whilest the Lords were eyther fled, or stood in suspence attending the event, she and her people came thundring to the Walls of VVinchester: And that, what pact soeuer hee had made with her for the right of the Church, shee obstinately brake all: Besides, hee was certainely informed, that shee and hers had plotted, both against his dignity and life: But | God in his mercy, contrary to her desire, had turned the businesse so, as he escaped the danger, and his brother was delivered out of bands. And therefore he, from the part of God, and the Pope, willed them, with all their vtmost power, to ayde the King, annoynted by the consent of the People and the Sea Apostolique, and to Excommunicate all the disturbers of the peace that favoured the Countesse of Aniou.

There was in the Councell a Lay Agent for the Empresse, who openly charged the Legat, That in respect of the faith he had given the Empresse, to passe no act there prejudiciall to her Honour: having sworn vnto her never to ayde his brother with above twenty souldiers; that her comming into England, was vppon his often Letters vnto her: and his cause it was, that the King was taken and held prisoner. This, and much more sayd the Agent with great austerity of words, wherewith the Legat seemed not to bee mooved at all, nor would stoope to reply.

But both parts thus set at liberty, were left to worke for themselues, holding the State broken betweene them; and no meanes made to interpose any barre to keep them a sunder. Their borders lay euery where, and then the ingagements of their Partakers, who (looke all to be sauers or to recouer their stakes when they were lost, which makes them neuer giue ouer) entertayne the contention. But the best was, they were rather troubles then Warres, and cost more labour then blood. Euery one fought with Bucklers, and seldome came to the sharpe in the field, which would soone haue ended the businesse.

The Earle of Glocester gets to Normandy. -- Some few moneths after these inlargements, stood both sides at some rest, but not idle, casting how to compasse their ends. The Empresse at the Vies with her Councell, resolues to send ouer her brother into Normandie, to solicite her husband the Earle of Aniou, to come to avde her with forces from thence: Her brother the better to secure her in his absence, setles her in the Castle of Oxford, well furnished for all assaults: and takes with him the sonnes of the especial men about her, as pledges to hold them to their fidelity. Stephen seekes to stop the Earles passage. but could not, and then layes siege to the Castle of Oxford; which held him all the time that the Earle was abroad. Geffery Earle of Aniou, desirous rather to have Normandy (whereof, in this meane time, hee had attayned the most part, and in possibility of the rest) then to adventure for England, which lay in danger, refused to come in person, but sends some small ayde, and his eldest sonne Henry, being then but eleuen yeares of age, that he might looke vpon England, and be shewed to the people to try if that would mooue them to a consideration of his right: which produed of more effect then an Army.

The Earles returne with the Empresses eldest sonne *Henry*.

—The Earle of *Glocester* safely returning, makes towards *Oxford* to relieue the Empresse, who had secretly conueyed her selfe disguised out at a posterne Gate, onely with foure

persons got ouer the Thames, passed on foote to Abington, and from thence conueyed to Wallingford, where her brother and sonne met her, to her more comfort after hard distresses.

1143. Anno Reg. 8.—Stephen seeing his enemy thus supplied, and like to grow, labours to win friends, but money failes, which made divers of his Lords, and especially his mercenaries, whereof he had many out of Flanders, to fall to the rifling of Abbeyes, which was of dangerous consequence: And for Armies there was no meanes: onely about Castles, with small powers, lay all the businesse of those times, and they beeing so many were to small effect, but onely to hold them doing, which was for many yeares.

The Earle of Glocester dyes.—The Earle of Glocester, the chiefe pillar of the Empresse, within two yeares after his last comming out of Normandy died, and shortly after Miles Earle of Hereford, an especiall man of hers, which had vtterly quasht her, but that in stead of a brother shee had a sonne grew vp to bee of more estimation with the Nobility, and shortly after of ablenesse to vndergoe the trauailes of Warre. His first expedition at sixteene yeares of age was Northward to combine him with Dauid King of Scots his great Vncle, to whom his mother had given the Country of Northumberland. After him followes Stephen with an Army to Yorke, least he should surprize that City, and to intercept him in his returne: but according to his vsuall manner, and French-like, after the first heate of his vndertakings, which were quicke and braue, hee quailes: nothing was effected, and both returne without incountring.

An. 1151.—Now to advance the State and meanes of Henry, Fortune, as if in love with young Princes, presents this occasion. Lows the seventh, King of France, going in person to the Holy warres, and taking with him his wife Elenor, the onely daughter and heire of William Duke of Guien, grew into such an odious conceite of her, vppon the notice of her lasciulous behaviour in those parts, as the first worke hee doth vppon his comming backe, hee repudiates, and turnes her home with

all her great dowry, rather content to lose the mighty estate she brought him then to enjoy her person. With this great Lady matches Henry before he was twenty yeares of age, (beeing now Duke of Normandy, his father deceased, who had recouered it for him) and had by her the possession of all those large and rich Countries, appertayning to the Dutchy of Guien, besides the Earledome of Poictou. Whereuppon Louys inraged to see him inlarged by this great accession of State, who was so neere, and like to be so dangerous and eminent a neighbour, combines with Stephen, and aydes Eustace his sonne (whom hee married to his sister Constance) with mainepower, for the recouery of Normandy, wherein hee was first possest. But this young Prince, furnished now with all this powerfull meanes, leaues the management of the affayres of England to his friends, defends Normandie, wrought so, as the King of France did him little hurt; and Eustace his Coinpetitor, returned home into England, where shortly after he dved, about 18. yeares of his age, borne neuer to bee out of the calamities of Warre, and was buried at Feuersham with his mother, who deceased a little before, and had no other joy nor glory of a Crowne but what we see. Stephen, whilst Duke Henry was in Normandy, recouers what hee could, and at length besieges Wallingford, which seemes in these times to have beene a peece of great importance and impregnable, and reduced the Defendants to that extremity, as they sent to Duke Henry for succour, who presently thereuppon, in the middest of VVinter, arrives in England with 3000 foote, and 140 horse. VVhere first, to draw the King from Wallingford, he layes siege to Malmesbury, and had most of all the great men in the VVest, and from other parts comming in vnto him. Stephen, now resolued to put it to the tryall of a day, brings thither all the power hee could make; and far ouer-went his enemy in number; but flouds and stormes, in an vnseasonable VVinter, kept the Armies from incountring, till the Bishops. doubtfull of the successe, and seeing how dangerous it was for

them, and the whole State, to have a young Prince get the maistry by his sword, mediated a peace, which was after concluded in a Parliament at *Winchester*, vpon these conditions.

- 1. That King Stephen, during his naturall life, should remaine King of England, and Henry enioy the Dukedome of Normandy, as descended vnto him from his mother, and be Proclaimed Heire apparent to the Kingdome of England, as the adopted sonne of King Stephen.
- 2. That the partizans of either, should receive no damage, but enioy their Estates according to their ancient Rights and Titles.

Resumptions.—3. That the King should resume into his hands all such parcels of inheritance belonging to the Crowne, as had beene alienated by him, or vsurped in his time. And that all those possessions which by intrusion had beene violently taken from the owners since the dayes of King Henry, should be restored vnto them who were rightly possessed therein, when the sayd King reigned.

4. That all such Castles as had bin built by the permission of Stephen, and in his time (which were found to be 1117) should be demolished, &c.

There is a Charter of this agreement in our Annals, which hath other Articles of reservation for the Estates of particular persons. And first for *William*, the second sonne of *Stephen*, to enioy all the possessions his Father held before hee was King of *England*, and many other particulars of especial note.

After this pacification and all businesse here, setled, Duke *Henry* returnes into *Normandie* and likewise there concludes a peace with the King of *France*, and for that hee would be sure to haue it, buyes it, with twenty thousand markes.

A. 1154. He reigned 18 yeares, and ten moneths.—And now King Stephen having attayned (that hee neuer had) Peace (which yet, it seemes / hee enioyed not a yeare after) vses all the best meanes hee could to repayre the ruines of the State, makes his progresses into most parts of the Kingdome, to reforme the mischiefes that had growne vp vnder the sword:

And after his returne calls a Parliament at London, to consult of the best meanes for the publicke good. After the Parliament, hee goes to meete the Earle of Flanders at Douer, who desired conference with him, and having dispatcht him, falls presently sicke, dyes within few dayes after, and was buried (in the Abbey he founded) at Feuersham, with the vnfortunate Princes.

A man so continually in motion, as wee cannot take his dimension, but onely in passing, and that but on one side, which was Warre: On the other, wee neuer saw but a glaunce of him, which yet, for the most part, was such, as shewed him to bee a very worthy Prince for the Gouernment. He kept his word with the State concerning the relieuement of Tributes, and neuer had Subsidy that we find.

But which is more remarkeable, having his sword continually out, and so many defections and rebellions against him, He never put any great man to death. Besides it is noted, that notwithstanding all these miseries of Warre, There were more Abbeys built in his Reigne, then in an hundreth yeares before, which shewes, though the times were bad, they were not impious.

The end of the Life and Reigne of King Stephen.
[See Appendix A., vol. v., for note and Author's quaint Errata apology.—G.]

The Life and reigne, of Henry the second; And first of the Line of Plantagenet.

1155. Anno Reg. 1.

HAT short time of peace, before the death of Stephen, had so allayed the spirit of contention, and prepared the Kingdome (wearied and defaced with Warre) to that disposition of quietnesse: as

Henry Plantagenet (though a French-man borne, and at that time, out of the Land: long detayned with contrary Winds,

yet a Prince of so great possessions abroad, as might make him feared, to bee too mighty a maister at home; or doubtfull, where hee would set his seate: Whether carry England thither, (or bring those great States to this) was, notwithstanding generally admitted (without any opposition or capitulation, other then the vsuall oath) to the Crowne of England: which he received at the hands of Theobald, Arch-bishop of Canterbury, the twentieth day of December, Anno 1154 about the three and twentieth yeare of his age.

Expulsion of Strangers.—And though he were a Prince Young, Active, Powerfull, and had all that might make him high and presuming: Yet the necessity of his owne affayres, were so strong raines to hold him in, from all exorbitant courses: as made him wary to obserue at first, all meanes to get, and retaine the loue and good opinion of this Kingdome, by a regular and easie Gouernment: beeing sure to have the King of France perpetually awake, for all advantages (both in regard of daily quarrells, common to mighty neighbours; as also for matching with her that came out of his bed, and brought away those mighty Prouinces from that Crowne, whereby he comes now to ouer-match him) beeing thus inuested in this powerfull Kingdome of England. Where, after having made a choyce of graue Counsellors, such as best vnderstood the state thereof; hee beganne at a Councell or Parliament held at Wallingford, with an Act (that both serued his owne turne, and much eased the stomacks of his people) which was the expulsion of Strangers, wherewith the Land was much pestered, by reason of the late warres that had drawne great numbers of them, and especially of Flemings and Picards, whom King Stephen especially trusted in his greatest actions, after hee grew doubtfull of the English fidelity, and had made their Leader William d'Ipres, Earle of Kent, who likewise was turned home, and his estate seized into the Kings hands.

Resumption of Crowne Lands.—Then, that he might subsist by his owne meanes, without pressure of his subjects, (whose voluntary seruices, and contributions, would yeeld him more in measure, then if exacted) he lookes to the State, and ordering of his revenues, reformes the Exchequer, and revokes all such Lands belonging to the Crowne, as had any way bin alienated or vsurped. And though some of the great Lords stood out for the holding what they had in possession, as / Hugh de Mortimer for his Castles of Clebury, Wigmore, and Bridgenorth; and Roger Fitz Miles, Earle of Hereford for the City and Lands of Glocester: Yet the King tooke them by force as appertayning to the Crowne. Besides, he resumed the Castle of Skarborough, which William Earle of Albemarle held, and divers other Lands and Castles in Yorkshire, possessed by private men. Hugh Bigot resigned his Castles into the Kings hands. And more, he tooke from William Earle of Mortaine, and Warren, base sonne to King Stephen, the Castle of Pemsey, the City of Norwitch: with other Townes and Castles, notwithstanding himselfe granted the same, in his agreement with Stephen: alledgeing, They were of the Demaynes of the Crowne, and could not be aliened. Onely he suffered him to enjoy such lands, as his Father, King Stephen held in England, in the time of Henry the first.

Then goes hee Northward and recouers the City of Carlile, seizes all Cumberland into his hands; and after takes the Towne of New-Castle, with the Castle of Bamberge, and so resumed all Northumberland, which his Mother (the Empresse) had before granted to Dauid King of Scots, her Vncle (Grandfather to Malcolin, who now reigned) as being not in his Mothers power, nor his, to give away any part of the Kingdome. Notwithstanding, he was content, Malcolin should enioy the Earledome of Huntingdon, which King Stephen had given to Henry Prince of Scotland, Father to Malcolin, as beeing a peece in the heart of England, whereof he could make no vse, but at the Kings pleasure: and besides, was a meanes, to hold him his Homager, and to performe those services belonging to that Earledome.

The King resumes the Earledome of Aniou.—And the same course tooke hee with the Alienations, and vsurpations formerly made of the Demaynes of the Duchy of Normandy, and forced Theobald Earle of Blois, to resigne into his hands two Castles, and Petroch Earle of Perch, other two. These revocations. whereby so many were indamaged in their estates, and Grants, both of his Predecessors, and his owne vtterly nullified, might seeme, to be an act of great iniustice, and in a new Gouernment, of little safety. But in regard, the Common-wealth had thereby a benefit; and but few (though great) interested, it passed as a worke vniuersally necessary, seeing his Maintenance otherwise, must bee made vp out of publicke taxations; which would turne to a generall grieuance. But the resuming of the Earledome of Aniou out of his brother Geffryes hands, contrary to his oath, cannot but be held a straine beyond conscience and good nature. For his father Geffrey Plantagenet desirous to leave some estate to his second son Geffrey, ordayned by his Testament, That when Henry had recovered the Kingdome of England, the other should have the County of Aniou; and in the meane time, put Geffrey in possession of the Castles and Townes of Chinon, Lodun, and Mirabell, whereby hee might, both haue mayntenance for his estate, and a readier meanes to come to the rest when occasion serued. And lest his sonne Henry should not performe his Wil, he got certaine bishops, and other nobles to sweare, that they would not suffer his body to be interred, till Henry, who was then absent, had sworne to fulfill his Testament: Henry, rather then to suffer his Fathers body to lye vnburied. with great vnwillingnesse takes this oath. But afterwards being inuested in the Crowne of England, and Geffrey seazing vppon the Earledome of Aniou, he passes ouer into France, and not onely takes from him the Earledome, but also those three Townes he had in possession; alledging, It was no. reason, a forced oath (vpon such an occasion) should bind him to forgo the inheritance of his Birth-right, being all the Patrimony, that was to descend vnto him from his Father, and though he had recovered

the Kingdome of England; that was not his Fathers worke, but by an other right. And although he held his brother deare vnto him, yet having Children of his owne, he was to provide, that what was his, should descend to them. But yet was content, to allowe his brother an honorable pension (of a thousand pounds English, and two thousand pounds of Aniouin money nearely) for the mayntenance of his estate; and obtayned of Pope Adrian the seventh (an English man borne) a dispensation for his Oath, made in this case.

1156. Anno Reg. 2.—His first expedition into Wales.—The punishment of Cowardize.—And now the first occasion, that put him here into action of Warre, was the Rebellion of the Welch, who, according to their vsuall manner, euer attempted some thing, in the beginning of the Reigne of new Princes, as if to try their spirits, and their owne Fortunes. / Against whom hee goes so prepared, as if he meant to go through with his Worke. Wherein at first, he had much to doe, passing a streight among the Mountaines, where he lost (with many of his men) Eustace Fitz Iohn, and Robert Curcy, eminent persons; and himselfe noysed to bee slaine, so much discouraged that part of the Army, which had not passed the Streights, as Henry an Earle of Essex, threw downe the Kings Standard (which he bare by inheritance) and fled; but soone, the King made it knowne, hee was aliue, discomfited his enemies, and brought them, to seeke their peace with submission. Earle of Essex was after accused, by Robert de Monfort for this misdeede, had the Combate, was ouercome, pardoned yet of life, but condemned to be shorne a Monke, put into the Abbey of Reading, and had his Lands seised into the Kings hands.

riss. Anno Reg. 4.—It was now the fourth yeare of the reigne of this King; when, all his affaires were in prosperous course, his State increasing, his Queene fruitfull, and had borne him three sonnes in England, Henry, Richard and Geffrey: his eldest sonne William (to whom he had caused the Kingdome, to take an Oath of fealty) dyed shortly after his comming to

the Crowne, so that now, the same Oath is rendered to *Henry*, and all is secure and well on this side.

The resignation of Nants to the King of England.—The King of France, who would gladly have impeached the mighty current of this Kings Fortune, was held in, and fettered with his owne necessities: his journey to the Holy Land, had exhausted all his Treasure, and since his comming home, the Pope had exacted great summes of him for dispensing with his second marriage, which was with Constantia daughter to Alphonso, King of Galicia, a feeble alliance, and farre off. so that all concurred to increase the greatnesse of this King of England; who having now almost surrounded France (by possessing first all Normandy, with a great footing in Brittaine, by the resignation of Nants, with the Country there about, which Conan the Duke was forced lately to make vnto him; then the Earledome of Maine, Poictou, Touraine, Aniou, (with the Dutchy of Guien) hee also layes claime to the rich Earledome of Tholouse vpon this Title:

King Henries clayme to the Earledome of Tholouse.—William Duke of Aquitaine, grandfather to Queene Elionor, married the daughter and heire of the Earle of Tholouse, and going to the holy wars, ingaged that Earledome to Raymond Earle of St. Gyles, and neuer returned to redeeme it. William his sonne, father to Queene Elionor, eyther through want of meanes, or neglect, delayed likewise the redemption thereof; so that the Earle of St. Gyles continuing in possession whilst he lived, left it to his son Raymond, of whom King Louys of France (having married Elionor, the daughter and heire of the last William) demaunded the restitution, with tender of the summe for which it was ingaged. Raymond refuses it, and stands to his possession, as of a thing absolutely sold or forfeited; but being too weake to contend with a King of France, fell to an accord, and married his sister Constance, widdow of Eustace sonne to King Stephen, and so continues the possession. Now King Henry having married this Elionor, and with her was to have

all the Rights shee had, tenders likewise (as the King of France had done, in the same case) the summe formerly disbursed, vpon the morgage of that Earledome. And withall makes ready his sword to recouer it, and first combines in league and amity, with such, whose Territories bordred vppon it: as with Raymond Earle of Barcelona, who had married the daughter and heire of the King of Arragon, a man of great Estate in those parts, entertayning him with conference of a match betweene his second sonne Richard, and his daughter: with couenant, that Richard should have the inheritance of the Dutchy of Aquitaine, and the Earledone of Poictou. Besides, hee takes into his protection William Lord of Trancheville (possessing likewise) many great Signories in the Countrey: and one who held himselfe much wronged in his Estate, by the Earle of Tholouse. [See Appendix B, Vol. V.].

Army, and goes in person to besiege the Citie of *Tholouse*, and takes along with him *Malcolin*, King of *Scots*, who (comming to his Court to doe him homage, for the Earledome of *Huntingdon*, and to make clayme for those other peeces, taken from his Crowne) was entertayned with so many fayre words and promises of King *Henry*, as drew him along to this Warre.

daughter to the King of France.—The Earle of Tholouse vnderstanding the intentions of the King of England, craues ayde of his brother in Law the King of France, who likewise with a strong Armie, comes downe in person to succour Tholouse, and was there before the King of England could arrive with his Forces; whereupon, sceing himselfe preuented, and in disaduantage, King Henry fell to spoyling the Country, and takes in Cahors in Quercy, where he places a strong Garrison to bridle the Tholousains, and so returnes into Normandy, gaue the order of Knight-hood to King Malcoline at Tours: augments his Forces, and enters the Country of Beauuoisin, where hee destroyes many Castles, and commits great spoyles. And to

adde more anoyance to the King of France, hee obtained of the Earle de Auranches, the two strong Castles Rochford and Monford, which furnished with Garrisons, impeached the passage twixt Orleance and Paris; in so much as the Warre and weather grew hote betwixt these two great Princes, and much effusion of blood was like to follow; but that a mediation of peace was made, and in the end concluded. With a match betweene the young Prince Henry, not seauen yeares of age, and the Lady Margaret eldest daughter to the King of France scarce three: weake linkes, to hold in so mighty Princes. The yong Lady was delivered rather as an Ostage then a Bride, to Robert de Newburge, to be kept till her yeares would permit her to live with her husband. In the meane time, notwithstanding, many ruptures hapned betweene the Parents: The first whereof grew upon the King of Englands getting into his owne hand the Castle of Gisors, with two other Castles vpon the River Eata, in the confines of Normandy: deliuered vp before the due time by three Knights Templars, to whom they were committed in trust, till the marriage were consumated. And this cost some blood: the Knight Templars are persecuted by the King of France, and the King of England receives them.

The King seekes to abate the power of the Clergy, and the cause thereof.—But now the aduantage of power lying all on this side, and the King seeing himselfe at large (and how much hee was abroad) beganne to be more at home, and to looke to the Prerogatives of his Crowne, which as he was informed, grew much infringed by the Clergy: which, since the time of Henry the first Were thought to have inlarged their iurisdiction beyond their vocation; and himselfe had found their power, in the election of King Stephen, with whom they made their owne conditions, with all aduantages for themselves, whereby they deprived his Mother and her Issue, of their succession to the Crowne. And though afterwards by their mediation, the peace twixt him, and Stephen was concluded, and his succession ratified: yet for that, might hee thanke

his Sword, the Iustice of his cause, and strong party in the Kingdome. VVhat they did therein shewed him rather their power, then their affection; and rather put him in minde of what they had done against him at first, then layed any obligation on him, for what they did afterward. And his owne example, seeing them apt to surprise all aduantages for their owne aduancement, made him doubt how they might deale with his Posterity, if they found occasion; and therefore is hee easily drawne to abate their power in what hee could.

Complaints against the Clergy.—To this motion of the Kings dislike, the Lay Nobilitie (emulous of the others authority) layed more weights: alledging how the immunities of the Clergy tooke vp so much from the Royalty, as his execution of iustice, could have no general passage in the kingdom: the Church held their Dominion apart, and free from any other authority then their owne; and being exempt from secular punishments, many enormious acts were committed by Clergymen, without any redresse to be had; and it was notified to the King, that since the beginning of his Reigne, There had bin above a hundreth Man-slaughters committed within the Realme of England by Priests and men within Orders.

Canterbury.—Now had the King, a little before (vpon the death of Theobald Arch-bishop of Canterbury) preferred Thomas Becket, a creature and servant of his owne, to that Sea. A man whom first, from being Arch-deacon of Canterbury, hee made his Chancellor, and finding him Diligent, Trusty and Wise, imployes him in all his greatest businesses of the State: by which tryall of his service and fidelity, hee might expect to have him ever the readier to advance his affayres, vpon all occasions. And besides, to shewe how much hee respected his worth and integrity, hee commits vnto him the education of the Prince, a charge of the greatest consequence in a Kingdome, which shall be ever sure to finde their Kings / as they are bred. At the beginning of this mans promotion, this reformation of Eccle-

siasticall iurisdiction is set vpon, a worke (in regard of that time of deuotion) of great difficulty: the Bishops having from the beginning of Christianity, first vnder the Saxon Kings, principally swayed the State; and though at the entrance of the Norman, they were much abridged of their former liberties, they held themselves if not content, yet quiet. For albeit they had not that power in temporall businesse as before; yet, within their owne circle, they held their owne iurisdiction, and immunities; and had since, both by the Law, Civill Warres, and the occasion of Forraine affaires, much inlarged them. So that any restriction, or diminution, of the power they had, could not but touch veynes that were very sensible in that part: especially, by reason of the vniversall participation of the spirit that fed them; and therefore could not bee but a businesse of much trouble.

A Parliament at Westminster. 1163. Anno Reg. 9.—The King conuokes a Councell at Westminster, and there first propounds to haue it enacted, That all such of the Clergy as should bee taken and convicted for any hainous offence, should lose the priviledge of the Church, and be delivered to the civill Magistrate, to be punished for their offences, as other the Kings subjects were. For, if after spiritual punishment, no secular correction should bee vsed; there would bee no sufficient meanes to restrayne them from doing mischiefe: seeing it was not likely, such men would much care for their degrading and losse of Orders, whom the Conscience of their calling did not hold in awe.

The Arch-bishop and his suffragans, with the rest of the Bishops, shewed the King how they were not to yeeld to any such Act, being against the liberties of the Church, which himselfe had sworne to defend and maintayne; and therefore humbly besought him, that hee would not vrge any thing to the prejudice of their iurisdiction, and such immunities as they had hitherto enioyed, both under him and his Noble Progenitors.

The King not liking this answere demaunds, IVhether they

would submit themselves to the Lawes and Customes, which the Arch-bishops and Bishops, in the time of his grandfather Henry the first did obserue? They answered, They would; their Order, the honor of God, and holy Church, in all things saued; with which reservation the King grew more displeased, the Parliament brake vp, and nothing effected at that time, for hee saw the Bishops fast to themselues, and the more by the animation of the Arch-bishop of Canterbury, whom hee thought (in regard of all those his graces bestowed on him) to haue found more yeelding to his courses, and therefore his indignation was most against him: And because hee would make him see what the displeasure of so mightie a King was, who could as well cast downe as advance: First denies him accesse: then takes from him what hee could possibly, countenances all such as were his opposites, his businesses in any the Kings Courts go against him. the Earle of Clare is supported in a contestation he had with him, about his Homage for the Castle of Tunbridge, and prevailes: nothing is left vndone, that might bee thought to humble him. And besides the King wrought so, As he vnties the knot, gaines first the Arch-bishop of Yorke, (the ancient Competitor with Canterbury in dignity) and after, the Bishops of Lincolne, Hereford and the especiall Prelates: and separates them both from the Councell, and company of the Arch-bishop Becket.

Notice of this iarre being given abroade, a Messenger is sent from the Pope, and all the Cardinalls to reconcile it, and to charge the Arch-bishop to make peace with his Lord the King and promise to observe his lawes without exception. The Archbishop pressed with this message, and the advice of many great men, repaires to the King at Woodstocke, and there promises in good faith, without any evill meaning, to observe the Kings Lawes so farre forth as was required.

A Parliament at Clarendon. 1164. Anno Reg. 10.—The Arch-bishop Becket, takes his oath to observe the Kings Lawes.—The King supposing now, things better prepared for his purpose then before, calls a generall Assembly of the

Bishops and Nobility at Clarendon, where Iohn of Oxford, the Kings Clerke was President of the Councell: And a very strict charge is given from the King, That they should call to memory the Lawes of his Grandfather Henry the first, and to reduce them into Writing: which beeing done, hee willed the Arch-bishoppe and Bishops, to set their Seales thereunto. VVhich when the rest were content to doe, the Arch-bishop Becket refused. Yet at length, by the perswasion of the Bishops (vrging him to satisfie the Kings pleasure, and appease his wrath, in regard of his present danger, which, by the rushing vp and downe of the Kings seruants with threatning countenances, they suspected themselues likely to fall into) He tooke his Oath to observe the Kings Lawes without any reservation. And for the writing desired to have a Copy, as if better to aduise there. And taking it into his hand, he turnes to the Clergy, and sayd: Brethren stand fast, you see the malice of the King and of whom we are to beware.

The King vseth all meanes to vexe the Arch-bishop.—So the Councell ended, but not the Kings displeasure against the Arch-bishop, whom onely hee found, durst beare vp against his power, the rest all yeelding thereunto, And therefore proceedes he, by all meanes to vexe and disgrace him, and to advance his Concurrent the Arch-bishop of Yorke, whom hee solicites the Pope (by his Agents Iohn of Oxford, and Geffrey Riddle) to make his Legat of all England. Which the Pope (fore-warned, acquainted with this businesse) refused to do: yet at the petition of those Agents, granted that Legation to the King himselfe, but so as he should do nothing to grieve the Arch-bishop; which the King tooke as a great indignity, and sent backe his Agents with the Popes Grant.

The Arch-bishop repents him of his oath.—The Arch-bishop Becket after his oath at Clarendon, so repented, as he suspended himselfe from the service of the Altar, & did sharpe penance till he had obtained absolution from the Pope. Which (vpon his information of the case) was sent him. After this, as some

write, he attempts to depart out of the Kingdome, contrary to a Law made at Clarendon (forbidding Archbishops, Bishops and other Persons to depart out of the Realme without the Kings leave. Which, although they obtained, yet were notwithstanding to secure the King, neither in their going, returning or staying there, to practise any thing preiudicious to his State or Person.) But being by contrary winds brought backe, he more exasperates the King against him.

A Parliament at Northampton.—The Archbishop called to account.—After this, he is summoned to an assembly at Northampton (holden about the ratification of the acts of Clarendon) where (to despite him the more) the Kings horses are placed in his Inne; and there, First had he a case adjudged against him, concerning a Mannor, for which, one Iohn the Kings Marshall contended with him in Law; and besides the losse of the Mannor, was cast in arrerages, five hundred Markes, which the King was said to have sent him; but he alledged how it was given: yet because hee confessed the receite, and could not prooue the gift, hee was condemned to pay it. Then was he called to render an account to the King of all such receits as in the time of his Chancellorship he had received for the King, of certaine Bishopricks & Abbeys during their vacancies, which amounted to 3000 markes. For these accounts, he alledged, How the King knew well, he was discharged before his election to the Sea of Canterbury; and how the Prince, the Barons of the Exchequer, and Robert de Lucie, chiefe Iustice of England had made him his acquittance for all accounts, & secular receits, in the behalfe of the king: & so (free and cleared) was he chosen to the administration of that office, and therefore would pleade the same no more.

The King, notwithstanding, vrging to haue iudgement passe against him, both for this, his late attempts and disobedience, hee was commanded the next day to attend his Censure. The morning before he was to appeare, hee celebrates earely with great deuotion, the Masse of S^t. Stephen Protomartyr, which

had these words: Etenim sederunt Principes, & aduersum me loquebantur; and so committing his cause to God, sets forward to the Court in his Stole, his blacke Canonicall hood, carrying the Crosse in his right hand, and guiding his horse with the left. The people seeing him come in this fashion, flocke all about him; he entring the great Chamber, sate downe amongst them, the King beeing within, in his Priuy Chamber with his Councell: from whom first came foorth the Bishop of London, and much blames him for comming so armed to the Court and offered to pull the Crosse out of his hand, but the Archbishop held it so fast that he could not. Which the Bishop of Winchester seeing, said to London, Brother, let him alone, he ought wel to beare the Crosse. London replies, you speak brother against the King and it wil be ill for you. After this comes foorth the Arch-bishop of Yorke (the heate of whose ancient hatred, sayth Roger Houeden, would not suffer him to speake in peace, and rebukes him very sharply, for / comming in that fashion, as if to a Tyrant, or heathen Prince, and told him. That the King had a sword sharper then his Crosse, and if he would be aduised by him, he should take it from him. Canterbury replies, the Kings sword wounds carnally, but mine strikes Spiritually, and sends the soule to Hell.

After much debate, the Arch-bishop Becket inuayes against this Violent proceeding against him: How no age ever heard before, that an Arch-bishop of Canterbury had beene adiudged in any of the Kings Courts for any cause whatsoever, in regard both of his Dignity and Place; and for that hee is the Spirituall Father of the King, and all other his Subiects. Then to the Bishops, You see the World rageth against me, the enemy riseth vp; but I more lament, the Sonnes of my Mother fight against me. If I should conceale it, the age to come will declare, how you leave mee alone in the Battell, and have indged against me, beeing your Father, though never so much a sinner. But I charge you by vertue of your Obedience, and perill of your Order, that you be not present in any place of indgement, where my

Person or cause comes to bee adjudged. And heere I appeale to the Pope: Charging you farther by Vertue of your Obedience, that if any Temporall man lay hands on mee, you exercise the Sentence of the Church; as it becomes you, for your Father the Arch-bishop, who will not shrinke howsoever, nor leave the Flocke committed vnto him.

Complaints against the Archbishop.—Then were all these great complaints of his Contempt, Disobedience and Periury, exhibited, and aggravated against him before the Assembly, and they cryed generally hee was a Traytor, that having received so many benefits at the Kings hands, would refuse to doe him all earthly honour, and observe his Lawes as he had sworne to doe. The Bishops likewise, seeing all thus bent against him, Renounced their Ecclesiasticall obedience vnto him, cited him to Rome, and condemned him as a periured man and a Traytor.

Then the Earle of Leicester accompanied with Reginald Earle of Cornwall, came to the Arch-bishop, and charged him from the King to answere to what was Objected vnto him, or else to heare his judgement. Nay, sonne Earle, said he, first heare you: It is not unknowne to your selfe, how faithfully I have served the King, and how in regard therof he preferred me to the place I have (God is my witnesse) against my will. For I knew mine owne infirmities, and was content to take it uppon me, rather for his pleasure, then Gods cause; therefore now doth God withdraw himselfe, and the King from me. At the time of my election hee made me free from all Court bondage, and therefore touching those things from which I am delivered, I am not bound to Answere, nor will I. How much the soule is worthier then the body, so much are you bound to obay God, and me rather then any Earthly Creature: neither will Law or Reason permit the Sonnes to condemne the Father: And I refuse to stand eyther to the Iudgement of the King or any other Person; appealing to the presence of the Pope by whom onely on Earth I ought to be adjudged, committing all I have to Gods protection and his; and vnder this authority I depart of this place. And so went hee out and tooke his Horse, not without some difficulty in passing, and many reproaches of the Kings seruants.

The Arch-bishop disguised fled out of the Kingdome.—Being gotten out of the Court, a great multitude of the Common people (reioycing to see him deliuered) and diuers of the Clergy conuayed him honourably to the Abbey of Saint *Andrewes*, whence disguised (by the name of *Dereman*) hee escaped ouer into *Flaunders* and so to *France*.

This businesse of the Church, I have the more particularly delivered (according to the generall report of the Writers of that time) in regard it lay so chayned to the Temporall affaires of the State, and bewrayed so much of the face of that Age, with the constitution both of the Soueraignty; and the rest of the body, as it could not well bee omitted. Besides, the effects it wrought in the succeeding Reigne of this Prince, the vexation, charge, and grieuous burthen it layed vppon him for many yeares, is worthie of note, and shewes vs what spirit had predomination in that season of the VVorld, and what Engines were vsed in this Oppugnation.

Presently vppon the departure of this Great Prelate, the King sends ouer to the King of France, Gilbert Bishop of London, and William Earle of Arundell, to intreat him, not only to forbid the Archbishop his Kingdome, but to be a meanes to the Pope, that his cause might not be fauoured by the Church, being so contumacious a rebell as he was against his Soueraigne Lord.

The King of France notwithstanding this intreaty, sends Fryer Francis his Almoner vnder hand to the Pope, to beseech him, as hee tendred the honour of holy Church, and the ayde of the Kingdome of France, to support the cause of Thomas of Canterbury, against the Tyrant of England.

The King sends Ambassadors to the Pope.—King Henry sends likewise with all speed, Roger Archbishop of Yorke, the Bishops of Winchester, London, Chichester and Excester: Guido Rufus, Richard Iuechester, and Iohn of Oxford, Clerkes:

William Earle of Arundell, Hugh de Gundeuile, Barnard de Saint Walleric, and Henry Fitz Gerrard, to informe the Pope of the whole cause, and preuent the Arch-bishops complaint. The multitude and greatnesse of the Commissioners shewed the importance of the Ambassage, and the Kings earnest desire to have his cause prevaile. They finde the Pope at the City of Sens, to whom, they shewed how peruers and disobedient the Arch-bishop had behaued himselfe to his Soueraigne Lord the King of England; how hee alone refused to obay his Lawes and Customes, which hee had sworne to doe; and that by his pecuish waywardnesse, the Church and Kingdome were like to be disturbed, which otherwise would agree in the reformation thereof. as was fit and necessary; and therefore they be sought him, as hee tendred the peace of the Church of England, and the love of the King their Soueraigne, not to give credit or grace, to a man of so turbulent and dangerous a spirit.

This Information (notwithstanding earnestly vrged) they found moued not any disposition in the Pope to fauour the Kings cause, so that in the end, They besought him to send two Legats over into England, to examine the particulars of this businesse, and how it had bin carried; and in the meane time, to admit no other information of the cause, but referre it to their relation. The Pope refuses to send any Legat; the Commissioners depart without any satisfaction. And within foure dayes after, comes the Arch-bishop and prostrates himselfe at the Popes feet: deliuers him a coppy of those Lawes, which the King called his grandfathers Lawes, which being openly read in the presence of all the Cardinals, Clergy and many other people, The Pope condemned them for ever, and accursed those who obeyed or any way favoured them.

Those Lawes among the Statutes of Clarendon, which the Arch-bishop so much oppugned (and most offended the Clergy) were (as by his owne letter to the Bishop of London appeares) these especially: That there should be no appeale to the Apostolike Sea without the Kings leave. That no Arch-bishop or

Bishop should go out of the Realme but by the Kings Permission. That no Bishop excommunicate any, who held of the King, in Capite; or interdict any Officiall of his without the Kings leave, &c. That Clergymen should be drawne to secular iudgement, That Lay-men (as the King and other) should handle causes of the Church, Tythes, and such like. And these were dangerous incroachments vpon their Liberties,

1166. Anno Reg. 12. The Kings Edicts against the Pope and his agents.—But now the King, seeing his Ambassage to take no effect, and withall, in a manner contemned, presently makes his heauie displeasure, and the scorne hee tooke, knowe by his seuere Edicts, both against the Pope, and the Archbishop, that they might see what edge his secular power had in this: Ordayning, That if any were found carrying Letter, or Mandate from the Pope, or Arch-bishop, containing any interdiction of Christianity in England, he should be taken, and without delay executed as a traytor, both to the King and Kingdom. That whatsoeuer Bishop, Priest, Monke or Conuerser in any Order, Clergie, or Layman, should have and retaine any such letters; should forfeite all their possessions good and chattells to the King, and be presently banished the Realme with their kinne. That no Clergyman, Monke or other should be permitted to passe ouer Sea, or returne out of Normandy into England, without letters from the Iustices heere, or from the King being there; Vppon paine to be taken as a Malefactor, and put in hold. That none should appeale to the Pope. That all Clerkes which had any revenue in England should returne into the Realme within three months, vpon paine of forfeiting their estates to the King. That | Peter Pence should be collected and sequestred till the Kings pleasure were farther knowne.

Besides this, hee banishes all that were found to bee any way of kinne to the Arch-bishop, without exception of condition, sex, or yeares. And withall, takes occasion upon the *Schisme* which was then in the Church, to renounce Pope *Alexander*, and incline to the Emperours faction, which stood thus.

The Election of two Popes.—After the death of Adrian the fourth, Rowland a Geneuese, and a great enemy of the Empire, is by two and twenty Cardinalls elected Pope by name of Alexander the third, to which election foure Cardinalls opposed, and made choice of Octavian a Citizen of Rome that would be called Victor the fifth. The Emperor Frederic Barbarossa summons these two Popes to a Councell at Pauia. to vnderstand and determine their right. Alexander makes the old answere, That the Pope could not be judged by any man liuing, refuses to appeare before the Emperour, and withdrawes into Anagnia. Victor consents to appeare there, or wheresoeuer the Emperour would appoint, so that, hee was the man for that side. But all the other Princes of Christendome (except those of the Emperours faction) acknowledge Alexander for Pope as elected by most voyces. And especially by the King of France who called him thither; and at Cocv vpon Loyr, hee and the King of England received him with all honour and reuerence, in so much, as they are sayde to haue attended vpon his Stirrop, the one on the right hand, the other on the left: after this, he calls a Councell at Tours. whither the Kings of England, Spaine and Hungary send their Ambassadors, and there are the constitutions of the Councell of Pauia, and the Emperours confirmation of Victor nullified. so that Alexander having his party daily encreasing in Italy, was shortly after received into Rome.

Notwithstanding all this, the King of England finding him so auers in this businesse, Falls off from him, renounces his Authority, turnes to the Emperours faction, seekes to strengthen himselfe with the Princes of Germany, consents to match his daughter Maude to the Duke of Saxony, at the motion of Reginald Arch-bishop of Collen, sent ouer by the Emperor for that purpose, and intertaines a motion for another daughter to be matched with the Emperours sonne.

Pope Alexanders Letter to the Clergy of England.—But now, by reason this contrary faction to Pope Alexander grew

to bee but feeble, all this working did the King no good, but exasperates the Pope, and sets him on the more to support the cause of the Arch-bishop, Who solicites the Clergy of England, threatens, intreates, adiures them not to forsake their hold, nor give way to the invador of their liberties, which sought to confound the Priest-hood and the Kingdome: and if they opposed not mainly at the first, but suffered the least breach to bee made vppon them, they were vndone. Then excommunicates hee all the especiall Ministers of the King that adhered to the Teutonicque faction, or helde intelligence with the Arch-bishop of Collen: As Iohn of Oxford, Richard Iuechester, Richard de Lucie, Iossling Balliol, Alan de Neuile, and with these all such as had entred vppon the goods of the Church of Canterbury, which hee called the Patrimony of the Crucifix, and the foode of the poore; and there were Ralph de Brocke, Hugh Saint Clare, and Thomas Fitz Barnard. Thus are both sides busied in this drie Warre, wherein, though there were no sword, yet it gaue vexation enough.

The King represses the Welch.—And yet this was not all the worke that tooke vp the Kings time; for during this dissention, the Welsh againe reuolt, and to suppresse them he spent much labour, with the losse of many great men, and was himselfe in that danger, as had not Hubert Saint Clare received a Wounde for him, by an Arrow aymed directly at his owne person, hee had there finished his part. In this expedition hee is sayd, to have vsed extreame crueltie.

to bee neere his businesse, which now lay all on that side. And first to entertayne the opinion of Piety (though hee were falne out with the Pope) hee obtaynes at an Assembly of his Bishops and Barons of Normandy, two pence in the pound, of every mans Lands and goods to be payd that yeare 1166. and a peny of everie pound to be paid for foure yeares following, which was levied for the reliefe of the Christians in the Holy Warre, and sent vnto them.

Then hee raises forces and takes in certayne Castles in the Countrey of Maine, and Marches of Brittaigne, from divers Lords and Barons that had disobayed him. And whilst he was busie abroade, Mathew sonne to the Earle of Flaunders (who had married the Lady Mary Abbesse of Ramsey, daughter to King Stephen, and had by her the Country of Bologne) attempted something on the Coast of England, either to try the affections of the people, or to make spoyle and booty, but without any effect at all, the King being too mighty for any such weake vndertaker.

And to distend his power yet wider, falls out this occasion: Conan Earle of Brittaigne dyes, and leaues one onely daughter (which hee had by his wife Constance daughter to the King of Scots) to succeed him in his State. The King of England being then in armes vpon the Marches of Brittaigne, deales with the Guardians of the young Lady to match her to his third sonne Geffery. The Nobilitie of that Country beeing then of a rough, and haughtie disposition (giuen to fewds and perpetuall quarrelling one with another) were wrought vpon, and a side is wonne of such as could doe most in this businesse; which is effected to the great contentation of the King of England.

The Death of Maude the Empresse.—This fell out to be in the 13. yeare of his Reigne, wherein, as some write, dyed his mother Maude the Empresse, a Lady of an high and active Spirit: illustrious by her birth, but more by her first match, and most by her sonne, whom she lived to see established in all these mighty States, in the glory of Greatnesse and Peace: Fertile in issue, having now had foure sonnes and three daughters, linkes of love and strength (oftentimes in private families) though seldome in Princes; and shee left him in the best time of his dayes before any great tempest overtooke him.

Three yeares after this, hee imployes most in *France*, about the ordering and clearing the bounds of his Dominions from vsurpation, or incroachments of neighbour Lords (whom his

greatnesse held in awe) and they must have no more then hee would: especially hee settles and reformes the state of *Brittaigne*, which was very much out of order, and in mutiny about the late Match; which beeing somewhat appeased, hee keepes a solemne Christmas at *Nants*, and Royally Feasts the Nobility of the Countrey.

1169. Anno Reg. 16.—Then returnes he into England, where, lest Peace (by reason of his long and often absence) might afflict and corrupt his subjects, hee lookes to that Diuine and Almighty worke of Kings, the administration of Iustice, appointing certayne Commissioners as Syndicqs to examine the abuses and excesses committed by his Officers, and grieuously punishes the Shriefes of the Land, for extortion and bribery.

His Easter, he keepes at Windsor, whither repayres vnto him IVilliam King of Scots who lately succeeded Malcom his brother, and brings with him his younger brother Dauid, both to congratulate the King of Englands returne, and also continue his clayme to those peeces in the North, which hee pretended to be vniustly detained from that Crowne. The King entertaynes him, as he had done his brother with fayre words, and tells him, How it was not in his power, to do any thing therein, without the consent of the state in Parliament; which if he would attend, there should be that course taken, as hee hoped might give him satisfaction. In expectation whereof this King came often into England, and once attended the King in an expedition into France, as his Predecessor had done before.

The Pope writes to the Bishops of England.—But now all this while, the wrath of the Church continues, and the cloud hangs still ouer him, daily threatning the great thunder-bolt. Although it seemed the Pope of himselfe, was not very forward to proceede to that extreamity, but would gladly haue quieted the Arch-bishop otherwise; Who (hee sayd) had taken an ill time for this businesse, the King being mighty, and the Church in trouble; and therefore writes he his letters to the Bishops of

London and Hereford, willing them to deale effectually with the King, and to admonish him to desist from intruding vpon the liberties of the Church, and to restore the Arch-bishop to his Sea and Dignity.

The Bishops answere to the Popes Letter.—The Bishopps wisely Answere the Popes Letter, in substance thus: Wee have (sayed they) done your Holinesse Message, and as much as was decent for the Maiestie of a King, instantly vrged him to satisfie your desire, made by vs: And if hee had erred | from the way of truth and Iustice, that he would not delay to returne thereunto; that he would not inhibit such as were desirous to visit the Church of Rome, hinder appeales, oppresse Churches and Church-men, or suffer others so to doe: That hee would call home our Father the Arch-bishop, &c. and persist in the workes of Piety; that hee by whom Kings Reigne might preserve vnto him his temporall Kingdome, and give him an eternall in Heaven: And that vnlesse hee would yeelde to your Holy Admonitions, you, who had thitherto endured could in patience forbeare no longer. Besides, we added this of our selues, how it was to be feared, if he amended not his errors, his Kingdome would not long stand, nor vet prosper.

The King received your admonitions with many thankes, much temperance and modestie, and answeres to every point. First, hee protested that in no sort hee averted his minde from your Holinesse, nor ever purposed so to doe, but so long as you shewed him fatherly Grace, hee would love you as a Father; reverence and cherish the Church as his Mother; and humbly obey your sacred Decrees, saving his owne Dignity, and that of his Kingdome. And if of late he hath not respected you with any reverence, the cause was that, having with all his affection, and all his power stood to you in your necessity, hee was not answered worthily to his deserts upon his recourse to you by his Ambassadour, but in every petition had the repulse. And for hindring any which are willing to visit your Holinesse, he answeres hee will not, nor hath hitherto done.

But for Appeales, by the ancient custome of the Kingdome, Hee chalenges that honor, and cumber to himselfe: that no Clergyman for any civill cause shall goe out of the Land till hee had tried, whether he may obtaine his right by his Royall Authority, and Iustice at home; which if hee cannot, hee may (without any hinderance) when hee will, make his Appeale. Wherein, if any way hee doth prejudice Your Honour, hee offers, by the helpe of God to correct it, as it shall bee ordered by the Councell of the whole Church of his Kingdome. And for the Emperour, though hee knew him a Schismatique, hee neuer vnderstood hee was excommunicate. But if hee bee by vs informed thereof, or hath entred vnlawfull league with him, or any other, hee promises likewise to redresse the same, by the sayd Ecclesiasticall Councell of his Kingdome. And for our Father, the Lord of Canterbury (hee sayth) that hee neuer expelled him out of his Kingdome, but as hee went out of his owne accord, so also at his pleasure it was free for him to returne to his Church in peace: provided, that his Maiestie might bee satisfied concerning those complaints of his, and have him to observe his Royall Dignitie, And if it can bee prooued, that any Church, or Churchman, hath beene opprest by the King, or any of his, hee is ready to make full satisfaction, as shall be thought fit by the whole Councell, of the Church of his Kingdome.

This (say they) wee have received in answere from our Lord the King, and wish wee could have had it fully according to your desire; but these things we thought good to notific to your Highnesse, that your Discretion may perceive what is like to bee the conclusion of this businesse. The King stands vpon the iustification of his owne cause, ready to obey the Councell and iudgement of the Church of England. Whereupon wee thought good to beseech your Highnesse, that you would moderate, for a time, that zeale (which by the fire of the divine Spirit, is worthily inkindled, to revenge any inivire done to the Church of God) and forbeare to pronounce any sentence of interdiction, or that last iudgement of abscision, whereby innumerable Churches may

be miserably subverted, and both the King and an infinite number of people with him, irrevocably (which God forbid) averted from your obedience.

Then they tell him, That better it were to have a member bad, then cut off: abscision brought desperation: A skilful! Chirurgion might recouer an infected part, and how it were fitted to imploy some meanes to heale the Wound, then by cutting off a most noble part of the Church of God, to bring more d.s. turbance to the same that hath too much alreadie. Though the King were stiffe, they ought not to despaire of the grace of God; that a Kings stomacke was then to bee wonne, when hee had wonne, and might not blush to yeelde, when hee had ouercome: Patience, and Meekenesse, must pacifie him, &c. And in conclusion, wee speake foolishly (say they) but yet with all Charitie: if it come to passe, that the Lord of Canterbury loose both his goods; And live besides in perpetuall exile; / and England, (which God forbid) fall away from your obedience, were it not better to forbeare for a time, then with such zeale of severity to foster up a party? what if persecution cannot seperate many of vs from you, yet will not there want knees to bow to Baal, and receive the Pall of Canterbury at the hands of an Idoll, without choice of Religion or Iustice: neither will there want suppliers of our Chayres that will obey him with all deuotion, and already many devoure these hopes; wishing that scandalls may come, and straight waves bee made crooked.

Thus much out of their letters, which are the best peeces of History in the world, and shewe vs more of the inside of affayres, then any relations else. And by this we truely see what harres kept these two mighty powers backe from their wills, and yet how loude they threaten, and both afeard of each other.

Prince *Henry* crowned King. 1170. *Anno Reg.* 10.—But the King of *England* stood safe enough, and was like to haue his businesses runne in a strong and entire course, when by casting to make things safer then fast, hee layes open a way both to dis-joynt his owne power, and imbroyle his people with

diuision; which was by the association of his sonne Henry in the gouernment: an act without example in this Kingdome, and strange that a Parliament, an assembly of the State, conuoked for the same businesse, would in so wise times, consent to communicate the Crowne, and make the common-wealth a Monster with two heads. But it seemes, the strong desire of the King was such, for the loue hee bare his sonne, as hee would not be denied in this motion, nor hold it a sufficient Security, to have twice before caused all the Kingdome to take an Oath of Fealty vnto him, and to haue resigned, vnlesse hee were crowned King, as hee was, with all vsuall solemnities the 14 day of Iune 1170, by Roger Arch-bishop of Yorke, and had homage done vnto him that day by the King of Scots, Dauid his brother, and all the Nobility of England. But now with what reservations this was done, we are not particularly informed: whether there was an equall participation of rule, or onely but of Title; and that the Father, notwithstanding this Act, was to have the especialI manage of the Gouernment, and the Sonne, though a King, yet a Sonne, with a limited power. Howsoeuer, this yong King shewed shortly after, That a Crowne was no State to be made over in trust, and layd much griefe, and repentance, vppon his Fathers forwardnesse.

What mooued the King with this precipitation (to bee before hand with his Graue) may be deemed the iealousie hee had apprehended by his Mothers example, who for all the Oath of Fealty so often taken for succession, was yet put by it, through the working of the Clergy; and now considering in what termes hee stood with them, and that although hee had wonne some few Bishops vnto him, was sure they loued him not, and what they might worke with the people, if himselfe should fayle, made him ouer-doe his worke.

The King of *France*, vnderstanding that his daughter was not Crowned with her husband (which by reason of her tender age was deferred) tooke it ill, and threatens King *Henry* the Father with Warre, if it were not presently done; which causes

him to make more haste backe againe into *Normandy* (leaving the young King in *England*) to satisfie or preuent this quarrelling Prince.

Beckets submission to the King.—And whilst he remayned there, meanes was made that the Arch-bishop of Canterbury, (who had beene now six yeares in exile) was brought to haue conference with the King, by the mediation of the King of France, Theobald Earle of Bloys, and divers great Bishops; which the King of England was the more willing to accept, in regard hee saw this breach with the Church might much preiudice his temporall businesses, whensoeuer they should breake out: And how the Arch-bishop continually was working the Pope, and all the great Prelates of the Christian World against him: which, How much such a party as swayed the Empire of Soules might doe in a time of zeale, against a Ruler of bodies, was to bee considered. And therefore descends he from the hight of his will to his necessity, and they meete at Montmiraill before the King of France, where the Arch-bishop kneeling at the feete of his Soueraigne Lord the King of England, sayd, Hee would commit the whole cause in controversie to his Royall Order, Gods honour onely reserved. |

The Kings offer to Becket. Beckets reply.—The King (who had beene often vsed to that reservation) grew into some choller, and sayd to the King of France, and the rest, Whatsoever displeaseth this man, he would have to be against Gods honor, and so by that shift, will challenge to himselfe all that belongs to me: But because, you shall not thinke me to go about to resist God's honor, and him, in what shall bee fit, looke what the greatest & most holy of al his predecessors have done to the meanest of mine let him doe the same to me, and it shall suffice. VVhich answere beeing, beyond expectation, so reasonable, turn'd the opinion of all the company to the Kings cause, in so much as the King of France, sayd to the Arch-bishop, Will you be greater then Saints? better than Saint Peter? what can you stand vpon? I see it is your fault, if your peace be not

made. The Arch-bishop replies to this effect: That as the authority of Kings had their beginning by degrees, so had that of the Church, which being now by the providence of God, come to that estate it was, they were not to follow the example of any, that had beene faint or yeelding in their places. The Church had risen, and increased out of many violent oppressions, and they were now to hold what it had gotten. Our Fathers (sayd hee) suffered all manner of afflictions, because they would not forsake the name of Christ, and shall I, to be reconciled to any mans favour living, derogate any thing from his honour?

The King and Becket accorded.—This hauty reply of a subject to so yeelding an offer of his Soueraigne, so much distasted the hearers, as they held the maintenance of his cause, rather to proceede from obstinacy then zeale, and with that impression, the conference for that time, brake vp. But after this, were many other meetings, and much debate about the businesse. And the King of France (at whose charge lay the Arch-bishop all this while) came to another conference with them, vppon the Confines of Normandy: Where, the King of England tooke the Arch-bishop apart, and had long speech with him; twice they alighted from their horses, twice remounted, and twice the King held the Archbishops bridel, and so againe they part, prepared for an attonement, but not concluding any. In the end by mediation of the Arch-bishop of Rouen, the matter is quietly ended before the Earle of Bloys, at Ambovs. And thereupon Henry the Father, writes to Henry the son, beeing then in England, in this wise: Know yee that Thomas Archbishop of Canterbury hath made peace with me (to my will), and therefore I charge you, that he and all his, have peace; and that you cause to be restored vnto him, and to all such (as for him) went out of England, all their substances, in as full and honourable manner, as they held it, three monthes before their going, &c. And thus by this letter wee see, in which King, the commaund lav.

Becket returnes into England.—The Arch-bishop returning

into England (not as one who had sought his peace, but inforced it) with larger power to his resolution then before, Suspends by the Popes Bull, the Archbishop of Yorke from all Episcopall Office, for crowning the young King within the Province of Canterburie, without his leave, and against the Popes Commandement; and without taking (according to the custome) the Cautionarie Oath, for conservation of the liberties of the Church. Hee brought also letters to suspend in like manner, The Bishops of London, Salisburie, Oxford, Chester, Rochester, Saint Asaph, and Landaffe, for doing service at the Coronation, and vpholding the Kings cause against him. And by these letters were they all to remayne suspended, till they had satisfied the Arch-bishop in so much as hee thought fit.

Thus to returne home, shewed that hee had the better of the time, and came all vntyed, which so terrified the Bishops that presently (hauing no other refuge) they repayre to the King in Normandy, and shewed him this Violent proceeding of the Arch-bishop, How since his returne he was growne so imperious as there was no living under him. Wherewith the King was so much mooued, as hee is sayd in extreame passion to have vttered these words; In what a miserable State am I, that cannot be quiet, in mine owne Kingdome, for one only Priest? Is there no man will ridde me of this trouble? Whereupon (they report) foure Knights, Sir Hugh Moruille, Sir William Tracy, Sir Richard Brittaine, and Sir Raynold Fitz Vrs, (then attending vppon the King, and gessing his desire by his words) depart presently into *England*, to bee the vnfortunate executioners of the same; but by some it seemes rather, these foure Gentlemen were sent with Commission from the King to deale with the Arch-bishop in another manner. And first to wish him to take his Oath of Fealty to the young King: then to restore these Bishops to the execution of their function: | and thirdly, to beare himselfe with moderation in his place, whereby the Church might have comfort vpon his returne, and the Kingdome quietnesse.

The murthering of *Becket*.—But they finding the Arch-bishop not answering their humour, but peremptory and vntractable, without regarding their Masters message, grew into rage, and first from threatning force, fell to commit it, and that in an execrable manner: putting on their armour (to make the matter more hideous) they entred into the Church, whither the Arch-bishop was with-drawne, the Monkes at Diuine Seruice; and there calling him Traytor, and furiously reuiling him, gaue him many wounds, and at length strake out his braines, that with his blood besprinkled the Altar. His behauiour in this act of death, his courage to take it: his passionate committing the cause of the Church, with his soule, to God and his Saints: the place, the time, the manner and all aggravates the hatred of the deede, and makes compassion and opinion, to be on this side.

The Murtherers miserable end.—The vnfortunate Gentlemen (hauing effected this great seruice, rifled the Arch-bishops house, and after weighing the foulenesse of what they had committed, and doubtfull whether the King, though they had done him a great pleasure, would seeme so to acknowledge it) withdrew themselues into the North-parts; and from thence pursued, fled into seuerall Countryes, where they all within foure yeares after (as is reported) dyed miserable Fugitiues.

The King of France informs the Pope of Beckets murder.—Soone ranne the rumor of this deed, with full mouth ouer all the Christian world: euery pen that had passion, was presently set on Worke. The King of France (himselfe) informes the Pope of the whole manner; with aggravation of the foulenesse thereof, and incites him to vse the most exquisit punishment he could, To unsheath Peters sword, to reuenge the death of the Martyr of Canterbury, whose blood cries out for all the Church, and whose divine glory was already revealed in miracles.

The Earle of *Blois* informes likewise.—*Theobald* Earle of *Bloys*, a great and graue Prince (elder brother to King *Stephen*) sends likewise his information to the Pope, and shewes him,

How he was at the peace-making betweene the King of England and this blessed Martyr; and with what a chearefull countenance, with what willingnesse the King confirmed the agreement, granting him power to use his authoritie as it should please the Pope and him against those Bishops, which had contrary to the right and dignitie of the Church of Canterbury, presumed to intrude the New King into the Royall throne. And this hee would iustifie by his Oath, or howsoeuer; and in this peace (sayth he) the man of God doubting nothing, puts his necke under the sword: this innocent Lambe the morrow upon Saint Innocents day, suffered Martyrdome: the iust blood was shed, where the shot of our saluation, the blood of Christ is offered. And then, how Court dogs, the Kings familiars and domestickes, were his ministers to execute this horrible act, concluding with an exhortation likewise of reuenge.

The Arch-bishop of Sens writes to the Pope.—But William Arch-bishop of Sens comes with a more maine out-cry, as if he would wake the Pope, were he neuer so dead a sleepe; and tels him, How hee was appointed over Nations and Kingdomes, to bind their Kings in fetters, and their Nobles with manacles of Iron: that all power both in Heauen and Earth was given to his Apostle-ship: bids him looke how the Bore of the Wood had rooted up the Vineyard of the Lord of Sabaoth, &c. and all, in that most powerfull phrase of holy writ. And after, having bitterly enveyed against the King, vses these words: It imports you, O most milde keeper of the Walls of Ierusalem, to revenge that which is past, and provide for the What place shall be safe, if the rage of tyrannie shall imbrew the Sancta Sanctorum with blood, and teare in peeces the Vice-gerents of Christ, the foster children of the Church, without punishment? Arme therefore all the Ecclesiasticall power you may, &c.

The King declares his innocency by Embassage to the Pope. Pope and Cardinals denied audience, refused conference.—Such and so great was the vprore of the Church, raised vpon

these motiues, as notwithstanding the King of England, (then the greatest Prince of all the Christian world) imployed the most especial men could be chosen in all his Dominions, for reputation, learning and judgement, to declare his innocencie to the Pope: to vow and protest that he was so far from willing such a deede to be done, as hee was from doing it himselfe, and how grieuously hee took the matter when he heard thereof; yet so deep was the impression setled before hand, and his name made so odious at Rome, as not onely the Pope denyed Audience to his Ambassadors, but every Cardinall, and all other his Ministers, refused to have any con/ference with them. Which, with the hard passage they had in going thither, by the many dangers and restraints they endured, and now the contempt they found there, did (as they signified to the King) much discourage them. Yet for all this, were there those braue Spirits among them, (as great Princes haue alwayes great Ministers) that neuer gaue ouer working to cleare their maisters honour, by Apologies, Remonstrances, and all whatsoeuer wit could deuise; and dealt so, as they kept off the great confounding blow of the highest Censure, though it were euery day threatned and expected. And having (by gravely vrging the mischiefes might follow in the Church, if a King of so great a State and stomacke, should bee driven to take desparate courses) given some pause and allay to the first heate; they timed it out all that Spring, and a great part of the next Summer; when, although they could give the King no great security, yet they aduertise him of hope. But the sending of two Cardinalls à Latere, Gratianus and Viuianus downe into Normandie, did exceedingly vexe him. For they were rough against him, and would have interdicted him, and his Dominions: but beeing fore-warned of their comming and intention, he appeales to the presence of the Pope, and so put off that trouble. Returning out of Normandy, into England, hee giues strict commandement, That no briefe-carrier, of what condition or order soeuer, without giving good security for his

behauiour to the King and Kingdome, bee suffered to passe the Seas.

The Conquest of Ireland.—Notwithstanding all the vexation the Church put this King into, hee left nothing vndone that concerned the advancement of his affaires, but as if now the rather, to shewe his power and greatnesse, takes this time for an expedition into Ireland (hauing commaunded a Nauie of foure hundred shipps to bee readie at Milford Hauen for the transportation of Men, Victualls, and Armour) and sets foorth in the beginning of November: an vnseasonable time, both for those Seas, and the inuasion of a Countrey not well knowne. But the businesse (it seemes) was well prepared for him, having had an intention thereof, euer since the second yeare of his Reigne, in which Hee sent a solemn Ambassage to Pope Adrian the fourth, to crave leave for the subdument of that Country, under pretence of reducing those rude people from their vicious fashions to the faith and way of truth. Which the Pope willingly granted, and returnes the Ambassadours, with an aut[h]enticall concession thereof in writing, to this effect. First, shewing how laudable a thing it was, and how fitting the magnificence of so mighty a King, to propagate his glorious name on earth, and heape up reward of eternall felicity in Heauen, by extending the bounds of the Church, reducing rude and vnlettered people from their vicious manners, to the verity of the Christian faith and civility. And then gives him power to invade the same, and to execute whatsoever should be to the Honor of God, and good of the Country, with reservation of Church-rights, and Peter-pence (a penny of euery house yearely which hee had promised by his Ambassadors) and so concludes, with an exhortation to plant men of good and examplar life in the Clergy, &c.

Dermots complaint against O Conor to King Henry.—But the King at that time, having other occasions, left off the purpose of this, which comes now of late to bee againe imbraced by this meanes: Dermot Mac Murrgh one of the five Kings which then ruled that Island, comes vnto him into Aquitaine to craue his ayde against Rodoricke the Great, called O Conor Dun, King of Connaught, who contending for the Soueraigntie of the whole, had chaced him out of his Dominion of Lemster.

Dermots offences.—The King of England (glad to finde a doore thus opened to his intention, that might yeeld passage of it selfe without beeing broken vp) intertaynes this elected King with promises of ayde; and though hee could not as then furnish him, beeing ingaged in other great affaires, hee yet permits such of his subjects as would, to aduenture their Fortunes with him. But the occasion of dissention, betweene these two Irish Kings was indeede foule on the part of Dermot, who had corrupted, and stolne away the wife of Rodoricke, and for that odious iniury, with his iniustice to his people (the common causes of ruining and transferring Kingdomes) hee was by strong hand chaced out of his Dominion of Lemster; and thereupon makes out for Forraine ayde. And (hauing thus delt with the King of England) he betakes him into Wales, where first he wrought one Robert Fitz / Stephen, a man of a desperate Fortune (yet able to draw many voluntaries) to contract with him; and afterward Richard (of the House of Clare) surnamed Strong-bow, Earle of Pembrooke, commonly called (of his chiefe seate in Monmouth-shiere) Earle of Chepstow or Strigill, a Lord of high courage and worthinesse, which made him well followed: and of great possessions both in England and Normandy, which gaue him meanes for his entertainments. Fitz Stephen was perswaded by promise of rich rewards: The Earle, of marriage with Eua the daughter of Dermot, and the succession of the kingdome of Lemster.

The Conquest of *Ireland*, the beginning of *May* 1170, *Anno Reg.* 16.—*Fitz Stephen* with *Maurice Fitz Gerard*, his halfe brother by the mother, passed ouer first with a small company and landed at the place called by the *Irish Bag-bun*, which in *English* signifies *Holy*, and therefore interpreted as presaging good successe, whereof this rime retaines yet the memory, *At*

the head of Bagge and Bun, Ireland was lost and wonne. And the next day after arrived at the same place, Maurice de Prendergast, with other men at armes (Triginta Militibus), and many Archers in two ships, parcel of Fitz Stephens forces, which from thence marched to the City of Weishford, with Banners displayed, in so strange a forme and order (though their number were not foure hundred) as the Irish vnacquainted with so vnusuall a face of Warre, were ouercome with feare, and rendred vp themselues to their mercy, with their City of Weishford, which with the Countrey about was given by Dermot to Robert Fitz Stephen, for an encouragement to him, and hope to others. And there was planted the first Colonie of the English, which ever since hath continued, retayning still in a sort our antient attire, and much of our language, proper onely to that City and Countrey about, and called by a distinct name, Weishford speech.

out of Wales, and after, vpon intelligence of good successe, the Earle of Pembrooke arrives in the Bay of Waterford with two hundred men at armes, and a thousand other souldiers, takes the Towne, which was then called Porthlarge, puts the inhabitants to the sword (to give terror to others, and make roome for his owne people) and there Dermot gives him his daughter in marriage, with the dowry of his Countrey, which, after his wickednesse had done, hee lived not to see more yeares (having had too many by this) and dyes miserably, leaving the Stile of Ningal (which signifies) the strangers Friend, added to his name in memory of his vnnaturall forsaking his owne Nation.

Strong-bow, after having secured the places gotten, marches (with those small forces he had) ouer the Island without resistance. Rodoricke the great (shewing himselfe but a little Prince) kept in the Wildes and fastnesses of Connaught, and neuer came to appeare before the enemy; who passing through the Country at his pleasure, takes what pledges hee would

the inhabitants to secure their obedience, and with as little labour possest himselfe of the City of *Dublin* the head of the Island.

Thus Wales got vs first the Realme of Ireland, and (which is most strange) without stroake of battaile: a thing scarce credible, that a Countrie so populous, a Nation of that disposition, should not lift vp a hand to defend it selfe, hauing, it seemes, eyther neglected the vse of armour, or else neuer beene acquainted with them (other then in a naked manner of domesticke fight one with another) whereby, the terror of strange and neuer before seene forces in order of Warre, layed them prostrate to the mercy of the Ouer-runner.

of the prosperous successe of these Aduenturers and the estate of the Countrey grew in iealousie of them, thinking they presumed farther then their subjection would allow, and would make themselues that which they must be made by him, and takes away the glory of the worke that should be onely his; causes proclamation to be made: That no vessell should carry any thing out of his Dominions into Ireland, and that all his subjects should returne from thence, and leave off their attempts, otherwise to forfeit their Estates at home. And withall sends ouer William Fitz Adelm, and Robert Fitz Barnard with some forces to prepare the way for him, who followed shortly after, and lands eight miles from Waterford the Eue of Saint Luke, Anno 1172. beeing the third yeare after the first Invasion made by Fitz Stephen.

The Irish kings submission.—At his first landing, a white Hart starting out of a Bush was taken, and presented to him, interpreted as a presage of a white Victory. The next day hee marches to Waterford where he staied fifteene daies; and thither came to him of their owne accord, the Kings of Corke, Limricke, Oxery, Meth, and all of any power in Ireland (except Rodorick King of Connaught, who still kept himselfe in the fastnesse of his Countrie) and submitted themselues with all the

Clergy, taking their Oath of Fealty to him, and the yong King, and their Successors for euer; so these deuided Princes holding no common Councell for the publique safety: rather then to ioyne those hands that had so often scratched each other, fell all from themselues, and with the same emulation they had in liberty, stroue for their seruitude who would be first to receiue a forraine maister.

Henries reformation of Ireland.—From Waterford the King goes to Dublin, where, hee holds an Assembly of all these subject Kings, with the Lords Spirituall and Temporall of Ireland, for the further ratification of their allegiance, and the ordering and reformation of the State. Which done hee causes the Bishops with the Clergie there to assemble at Cassell, and appoynts an especiall Chaplaine of his owne, with the Arch-deacon of Landaffe to bee assistants and aduisors vnto them for reformation of Church-businesses: which seemes to haue beene as disordred as the people. For though the Irish had beene long before Christians, it was after a wilde and mixt fashion, and therefore, according to his promise made to the late Pope, and to do a work pleasing to the present, it was decreed, That all Church-lands should bee free from exaction of secular men; and that from thenceforth, all Divine things should be ordered, and vsed in every part of Ireland according to the manner of the Church of England, beeing fit (as sayth the Cannon) that as Ireland hath by God's mercy obtained a Lord and King out of England, so from thence they should receive a better forme of life, and manners, then heretofore they vsed.

His Christmasse hee keepes at Dublin, where he royally feasts all Kings and great men of the Countrey; the rest of his beeing there hee imployes in fortifying and planting Garrisons where most need required: he makes Hugh Lacy Iustice of all Ireland, giues him the keeping of Dublin, and besides confirmed vato him and his heires, by his Charter, the Country of Meth to hold the same in Fee, for the seruice of a hundreth

Knights: hee bestowes on Robert Fitz Bernard the keeping of the Townes of Waterford, and Weisford (which he tooke from Fitz Stephen the first inuador) with charge to build Castles in them; and to humble the Earle Strongbow, and leuell him with the rest of his subjects, he takes from him all his dependants, and makes them his.

So was it but his winters worke to get a kingdome, which though thus easily won, it prooued more difficult and costly in the keeping, by reason the prosequution of a full establishment thereof was neyther by him or his successors (hauing other divertments) ever throughly accomplished.

His purgation for Beckets murther. Both Kings sweare to these Articles.—On Easter monday hee sets out for England, where hee makes no stay, but takes the yong King along in his Company, and passes ouer into Normandy to meete other two Legates (Theodinus and Albertus) who were sent from Pope Alexander (but in milder fashion then the last) to examine the murther of the late Arch-bishop Becket. Foure moneths were spent in debating the matter, and in the end, the King by his Oath taken vpon the Reliques of Saints, and the Holy Euangelists, before the two Legates in the presence of King Henry the son, the Arch-bishop of Rouen, and all the Bishops, and Abbots of Normandy in the Citie of Auranches purged himselfe, of either commanding or consenting to the murther. Yet for that he doubted lest they who committed the same might be moued thereunto by seeing him disturbed, and in passion: hee tooke the same Oath; that in satisfaction thereof, hee would faithfully performe these Articles following: First, neuer to forsake Pope. Alexander, nor his Catholicke successors so long as they used him as a Catholick King. Secondly, that Appeales should freely be made to the Pope, in causes Ecclesiasticall. Prouided, that if any were suspected, to worke euill to him, or his kingdome, they should then put in security before they departed. Thirdly, that hee would (from Christmas next for three years to come) vudentake the Crosse. & the sommer following, in person golto Ierusalem, vnlesse he were staid by the Pope, or his successors, or imploied against the Sarasins in Spaine. Fourthly, that in the meane time, he should deliver so much money | into the Templars hands, as by their opinion would entertaine 200. souldiers in the holy War for one yeare. Fiftly, call home all such as had endured banishment for the Arch-bishop. Sixtly, restore his possessions. Seventhly, and lastly, abolish all such customes as in his time had beene introduced to the prejudice of the Church. After himselfe had sworne, he caused King Henry his sonne to sweare to all these Articles, except such as concerned his owne person. And for a more Memory in the Roman Church, hee caused his Seale to bee set vnto them, with that of the two Cardinalls. So ended this tedious businesse, that made more noyse in the World, then any hee had, and bowed him more: beeing his ill Fortune, to grapple with a man of that free resolution as made his sufferings, his glory; had his ambition, beyond this World; set vp his rest, not to yeelde to a King; was onely ingaged to his cause; had opinion, and beleefe, to take his part: Which so much prenailed, as the King seeking to maister him, advanced him; and now is bee faine to kneele, and pray to his Shrine, whom hee had disgraced in his person; and having had him aboue his will, whilest he liued, hath him now ouer his Faith beeing des? And yet forty eight yeares after this, sayth the French Histor, it was disputed among the Doctors of Paris, whether hee were damned or saued: And one Roger a Norman maintayned, hee had justly deserved death, for rebelling against his Soueraigne, the Minister of God.

Henry the son is againe crowned with Margaret his wife.—
To make the better way to the ending of this businesse, and content the King of France; Henry the sonne is againe Crowned, and with him Margaret his Wife, with permission shortly after, to goe visite Paris; where, this young King, apt enough (though not to know himselfe) yet to know his State, received those instructions as made his ambition quite turne

off his Obedience, and conceiue, How to be a King, was to be a power aboue, and vndeuideable.

1173. Anno Reg. 19. The homage of Raymond Earle of Saint Gyles for the Earledome of Tholouse.—And to further the birth of this apprehension, fell out this occasion, The Father euer awake to aduance his greatnesse, takes a iourney in person into Auergnia, and so to Monferrato; and there purchases a match for the price of five thousand Markes, for his vongest sonne Iohn, with Alice the eldest daughter of Hubert, Earle of Mauriena (then as it seemes) Lord of Piemont and Sauoy, with condition to haue with her, the inheritance of all those Countryes, contayning many great Signories, Cities, and Castles, specified in Roger Houeden, with all the circumstances and couenants, very remarkeable, of the contract. So vnto greatnesse (that easier encreases then begins) is added more meanes, and enery way opens to this active, and powerfull King, aduantages of State, in so much, as the King of France, was euen surrounded with the power, and dependances of this mighty King of England, whose Fortunes most of all the neighbour Princes (which subsist by other then their owne power) now follow. And being returned from concluding this match in Piemont, there comes to him lying at Limoges, Raymond Earle of Saint Gyles (by whom was given the first affront hee had in France) now to doe homage vnto him from the Earledome of Tholouse: And there became the man of the King of England, and of his sonne Richard Earle of Poictou, to hold Tholouse from them (by hereditary right) for seruice of comming vnto them vppon their sommons, and remayning in their seruice forty dayes at his owne charge: And if they would entertayne him longer, to allow him reasonable expences. Besides, the Earle should pay yearely, for Tholouse, and the appertinances, a hundred markes of silver, or ten Horses, worth ten Markes a peece.

Henry the son takes displeasure against his father.—About the same time also came the Earle Hubert to Limoges (to

know what Land the King of England, would assure his sonne Iohn), who resolued to give vnto him the Castles of Chinon, Lodun and Mirable. Wherewith King Henry the sonne grew much displeased, and heere mooved his Father, eyther to resigne vnto him, the Dutchy of Normandie, the Earledome of Aniou, or the Kingdome of England for his maintenance: in which motion, hee was the more egar beeing incensed by the King of France, and the discontented Lords, both of England, and Normandy, who were many, and falne, or wrought from the Father, vpon new hopes, and the advantage of a devided Soveraignty.

And though there were many other occasions of this defection of the sonne, from the / Father; yet, that this for these Castles should first be taken (may seeme to bee the VVorke of Gods especiall iudgement) beeing those peeces, which himselfe had taken from his owne naturall brother Geffery, contrary to his Oath, made vnto his Father, as is before related: so (as if to tell iniustice, that it must bee duely repayed) the same Castles are made to bring mischiefe vppon him, and to give a beginning to the foulest discorde that could bee: VVherein hee had not onely the Children of his owne body, but the VVife of his bed to conspire, and practise against him.

For, hereuppon the sonne suddainly breaking away from the Father came to Paris, where, the King of France (who had no other meanes to preuent the ouer-growing of a neighbour but to deuide him) sommons and solicites the Princes of France, and all the friends hee could make, to ayde King Henry the sonne against the father, and to take their Oath, eyther to disposses him of his Estate, or bring him to their owne conditions. The young King likewise sweares vnto them, Neuer to have peace with his Father without their consents, and also sweares to give vnto Phillip Earle of Flanders, for his ayde, a thousand pounds English by the yeare, with the County of Kent, Douer and Rochester Castles: To Mathew Earle of Bologne brother to the sayd Earle, for his service, Kerton Soak in Lindsey, the

Earldome of Morton with the Honor of Heize: To Theobald Earle of Bloys, two hundred pounds by yeare in Aniou: the Castle of Amboys with all the right hee pretended in Tureine, &c. And all these Donations with divers others, hee confirmed by his new Seale, which the King of France caused to be made. Besides, by the same Seale, He confirmed to the King of Scots, for his aide, all Northumberland vnto Tyne: and gave to the brother of the same King, for his service, the Earledomes of Huntingdon and Cambridge. To the Earle Hugh Bigot the Castle of Norwich: other Earles of England, as Robert Earle of Leicester, Hugh Earle of Chester, Roger Mowbray, &c. had likewise their rewards and promises of the Lyons skin, that was yet alive.

Besides, they draw into their party Richard and Geffery, whose youths (apt to bee wrought on, for increase of their allowance) are easily intised; and with them their mother inraged with iealousie, and disdaine for her husbands conceiued abuse of her bed. So that, this great King in the middest of his glory, about the twentieth yeare of his Reigne, comes suddainly forsaken of his owne people, and is driuen through distrust to hire, and entertayne strange forces; procuring twenty thousand Brabansons (which were certayne Mercenaries commonly called the Routs or Costerels) for the recouery and holding of his Estate. And some few faithfull Ministers hee had (notwithstanding this generall defection) who tooke firmely to him: as William Earle Mandeuile, Hugh de Lacy, Hugh de Beauchamp, &c.

But howsoeuer we have seene the best of this Kings glory, and though hee had after this, good successes, hee had never happinesse; labour hee did by all meanes to have qualified the heate of his distempered sonne, by many mediations of peace: offering all convenient allowances for his Estate, but all would not prevaile: his sword is drawne, and with him the King of France with all his forces enters vppon his Territories on that side the Sea; on this the King of Scots seizes upon Northum-

berland; and makes great spoyles. The olde King complaines to the Emperour, and all the neighbour Princes his friends, of the vnnaturall courses of his sonne, and of his owne improvident advancing him. William King of Sicile writes, and condoles his misfortunes, but lay too farre off to helpe him.

The King of France besieges Vernoul, a place of great strength and importance, which Hugh de Lacy and Hugh de Beauchamp valiantly defended, and after a monthes siege, they of the Towne (victualls fayling) obtayned truce of the King of France, and permission to send vnto their Soueraigne for succour, IVhich if it came not within three dayes, they would render the Citty, and in the meane time their Hostages. The peremptorie day was the Eue of Saint Lawrence. The King of France with King Henry the sonne, and with divers great Lords and Bishops swore, if they rendred the Citty at the day appoynted, their hostages should bee re-delivered, and no dammage done to the Cittie.

King Henry the Father with all the forces he could make, came iust at the limitted day; disposes his Armie to strike Battaile with his enemies; but the King of France to auoyde the same, sends the Arch-bishop of Sens, and the Earle of Bloys to mediate a parle, which was appoynted the morrow: this day lost, lost Vernoul. For, to the morrow Parle, the King of France neyther comes, nor sends; but had entrance into the Towne (according to couenants) which contrary to his Oath, hee sackes, takes with him the hostages, and spoyle thereof: remooues his Campe, and leaues the King of England disappoynted; who that night, after having persued the flying Army with some spoyle, enters into Vernoul and the morrow surprises Danuile a Castle of his enemies, with many Prisoners. Thence he goes to Rouen, whence, hee sent his Brabansons into Brittaine against Hugh Earle of Chester, and Ralph Fulgiers, who had possest themselves almost of the whole Country; but beeing not able to resist the Kings forces in the Field, they with all the great men in those parts, and that side of France, recovered the Castle of Dole; where they Fortified and kept themselves, till King Henry the Father came in person, besieged and tooke it; and with them, about foure score Lords, men of name and action. Whereuppon all the rest of the Countrey yeelded themselves.

This ouerthrow beeing of such import, so terrified the Aduersaries, as they negotiate a Peace, and a Parle is appointed betweene Gisors and Try, wherein the King of England, (though he had the better of the day) condescended to make offer to his sonne Of halfe the revenues of the Crowne of England, with foure convenient Castles therein; or if hee had rather remayne in Normandie, halfe the revenues thereof, and all the reuenues of the Earledome of Aniou, &c. To his sonne Richard he offers halfe the revenues of Aquitaine and foure Castles in the same. To Geffery, the Land that should come vnto him by the daughter of the Earle Conon. Besides, he submitted himselfe to the arbitration of the Arch-bishop of Tarento, and the Popes Legates, to adde any allowance more as in their iudgments should bee held fit, reserving vnto himselfe his Iustice and Royall power: which yeelding grants, shewed how much hee desired this peace.

But it was not in the purpose of the King of France, that the same should take effect: for such peruersnesse and indignitie, was offered to King Henry in this Treaty, as Robert Earle of Leicester, is sayde to have reproached him to his face, and offered to draw his sword vpon him; so that, they brake off in turbulent manner, and their troupes fell presently to bickering betweene Curteles and Gisors, but the French had the worse.

The Earle of Leicester with an Army, makes ouer into England, is received by Hugh Bigot, into the Castle of Fremingham. Richard de Lucy Chiefe Iustice of England, and Humphrey Bohun the Kings Constable, being vpon the borders of Scotland, hearing thereof, makes truce with the King of Scots. And haste to Saint Edmonsbury where the Earles of

Cornwall, Glocester, and Arundell ioyne with them: they encounter the Earle of Leicester, at a place called Farnham, ouerthrew his Army, slew tenne thousand Flemings; tooke him, his Wife, and divers great Prisoners, which were sent vnto the King in Normandy, who, with his Army was not there idle, but daily got Castles, and Forts from his enemies, vntill Winter constrayned both Kings to take truce till Easter following; and the like did the Bishop of Duresme with the king of Scots, for which hee gaue him three thousand markes of silver, to bee payed out of the Lands of the Barons of Northumberland.

The Spring came on, and the truce expired: King Henry the Sonne, and Phillip Earle of Flaunders, are ready at Graueling, with a great Army for England. The King of Scots is entered Northumberland, and sends his brother Dwid with a power to succour the remnant of the forces, of the Earle of Leicester, which held the Towne of Leicester, but without successe: for Richard Lucy, and the Earle of Cornwall had before raced the City, and taken Robert Mowbray, comming likewise to ayde those of the Castle.

King Henry visites Beckets Sepulcher.—King Henry the Father vpon his sonnes preparation for England, drawes his forces from his other imployments, and brings them downe to Barbfleet, arriues at Southampton with / his Prisoners, Queene Elionor, Margaret the wife of his sonne Henry, the Earles of Leicester and Chester, and from thence goes to Canterbury to visit the Sepulcher of his owne Martyr, and performe his vowes for his Victories. And they write how comming within sight of the Church, He alights, and went three miles on his bare feete, which with the hard stones were forced to yeeld bloody tokens of his deuotion on the way. And as if to recompence (the merrit of this Worke) they note, How the very day when hee departed from Canterbury, the King of Scots to be overthrowne and taken at Alnwicke, by the Forces of the Knights of Yorke-shiere, which

are named to be: Robert de Stuteuile, Odonel de Humfreuile, William de Vescy, Ralph de Glanuile, Ralph de Tilly, and Bernard Baliol.

The King of Scots his Prisoner.—Lewis King of France, hearing of King Henries passage into England, and the taking of the King of Scots, calls backe Henry the sonne, and the Earle of Flaunders from Grauelin, where they stayed, expecting the Winde, and besiedged Roan on all sides sauing that of the River. The whilst King Henry is quieting and setling the State of England, where hee had first the Castle of Huntingdon rendred vnto his mercy, sauing the liues, and members of the Defendants; then the Castles of Fremingham and Bungaie, which the Earle of Bigot helde by force of Flemings, for whom the Earles submission could hardly obtayne pardon, but in the ende they were sent home. From thence hee goes to Northampton; Where, hee receives the King of Scots his prisoner, and the Castles of Duresme, Norham, and Aluerton rendred into his hands by the Bishop of Duresme; who, for all his service done in the North, stood not cleare in the Kings opinion. There came likewise thither Roger de Mowbray yeelding vp himselfe with his Castle of Treske: The Earle Ferrers, his Castles of Tutsbury, and Duffield: Anketill, Mallory and William Dive, Constables of the Earle of Leicester, the Castles of Leicester, Montsorill and Groby; so that within three weekes, all England was quieted, and all without drawing of sword, which in those manly dayes seemed onely reserved for the field.

King Henry fauours the French army.—This done, and supplied with one thousand Welshmen: King Henry with his Prisoners, the King of Scots, the Earles of Leicester and Chester, passes ouer into Normandy, to the reliefe of Roan: where those thousand Welshmen sent ouer the Riuer Siene, entred, and made way through the Campe of the King of France, slew a hundred of his men, and recouered a Woode without any losse of theirs. After which exployt, the King of England

(causing the gates of the City, to be set open, the Barracadoes taken away, the trenches they had made, betweene the French Campe and the City, to bee filled vp againe, with rubbish and timber) marched foorth with troupes, to prouoke the enemy, but without any answere at all. In the ende the King of France, sends away the weakest of his people before, and followed after with the rest, vppon sufferance of the King of England, by the mediation of the Arch-bishop of Sens, and the Earle of Bloys, who vndertooke that hee should the next day come to a parle of peace; which hee performed not.

The King and his sonnes reconciled as the Charter of Peace shewes.—But shortly after (seeing this action had so little aduantaged eyther him, or those for whom hee pretended to haue vndertaken it) hee imployes the former Agents againe to the King of England: and peace, with a reconciliation is concluded betweene him, and his sonnes. But with more reservation on his part, then had beene by the former treaty offered, as having now, more of power, and the aduantage of Fortune; and yet yeelding so much, as shewed, The goodnesse of his Nature was not over-swayed by his ambition; all his proceeding in this Warre witnessing, that necessity did ever worke more then his will. (Roger Hoved.)

And at the signing of the Charter of this Peace, when his sonne *Henry* would have done him homage (which is personall service) hee refused to take it; because hee was a King, but received it of *Richard*, and *Geffery*. Yet after this, *Henry* the sonne to free his Father of all scruple, became his Liege-man, and swore Fealty vnto him against all men, in the presence of the Arch-bishop of *Rouen*, the Bishop of *Bayeux*, the Earle *Mandevile*, and a great Nobility.

At the Concluding of this same Peace, the Earle of *Flaunders* yeelded up to King *Henry* the Father, the Charter made vnto him by the sonne for the remuneration, and had another confirmed for the pension hee had yearely out of *England* before this War, which was 1000. *Markes out of the Exchequer*,

afterward granted vppon condition of Homage, and for finding the King of England yearely fine hundred souldiers for the space of forty daies vpon summons given.

This same businesse ended, the Father, and the Sonne makes their Progresses into all their Prouinces on that side, to visite and reforme the disorders of Warre, and to settle their Affayres there. *Richard* is sent into *Aquitaine*: and *Gefferie* into *Brittaine*, vppon the same businesse, and there left with their Counsells to looke to their owne.

1175. Anno Reg. 21. All Vacancies supplied by the King .-The two Kings, Father and Sonne shortly after returne into England, where reformation in the Gouernment needed as much as in France; and heere had the Archbishop of Canterbury summoned a Councell of the Clergie, wherein were many enormities of the Church reformed, as may bee seene in the Canons of that Synod. The King supplies all Vacancies, and giues to Iohn de Oxenford, (that great Minister of his) the Bishopricke of Norwich: Then takes hee into his hands all the Castles he could seize vpon; amongst other the Tower of Bristoll, which was rendered by the Earle of Glocester, and was neuer in his hands before. Hee takes penalties both of Clerkes and Lay-men, who had trespassed his Forrests in time of Hostilitie: for which he is taxed of wrong, Richard Lucy Iustice of England, having warrant by the Kings precept to discharge them for the same. But the profit which they yeelded him, made him take the stricter regard therein. For after the death of Alaine de Neuile which had beene chiefe Iustice of all the Forrests of England, hee deuides them into divers parts, appointing to every part foure Iustices, whereof two to be Clerkes, and two Knights, and two Seruants of his Houshold, to be Keepers of the Game over all other Forresters, eyther of the Kings, Knights, or Barons whatsoeuer, and gaue them power to implea, according to the Assise of the Forrest.

1176. Anno Reg. 22.—The King being at Yorke, there came vnto him William King of Scots, with almost all the Bishops,

Abbots, and Nobility of *Scotland*, and confirmed the Peace, and finall concorde which had formerly beene, in the time of his imprisonment, at *Faleise* in *Normandy*, before all the greatest Estates of both Kingdomes; the Tenour whereof is to be seene in *Roger Houeden*.

After this, a Councell is called at Windsor, whether repayre certayne Bishops of Ireland, and the Chancelour of Rodorick King of Connaught, for whom a finall concord is concluded, vpon doing Homage, Fealty, and a Tribute to be payd, which was, Of euery ten Beasts, one sufficient Hide, within his Kingdome, and those Provinces that held thereof.

The Kingdome deuided into sixe parts for Iustice.—VVithin a while after, a Councell or Parliament is assembled at Nottingham, and by aduice and consent thereof, the King caused The Kingdome to bee deuided into sixe parts, and constitutes for euerie parte three Iustices itinerants, causing them to take an Oath voon the Holy Euangelists, faithfully for themselves to observe, and cause inviolably to be observed of all his Subjects of England, the Assises made at Claringdone, and renued at Northampton, which Assises were chiefly for Murther, Theft, Robbery, and their receivers: for deceipts, and burning of Houses, which facts if found by the Verdict of twelve men, the accused were to passe the tryall of Water Ordeil, whereby, if not acquitted, their punishment, was losse of a leg, or Banishment, that Age seemed to hold it a greater example of a Malefactor miserably liuing, then of one dead, for as yet they came not so farre as blood, in those cases.

And yet wee finde in the Reigne of this King, that one Gilbert Plumton Knight, accused for a Rape, before Ranulph de Glanuile, Chiefe Iustice of England (desirous, (sayth Houeden) by vniust sentence to condemne him) was adiudged, to bee hanged on a Gibbet; VVhereunto, when hee was brought, and in the hands of the Executioner, the people ranne out crying, That an innocent and iust Person ought not so to suffer. Balduin Bishop of Worcester, a religious man and fearing God,

hearing the clamor of the people, and the iniury done to this miserable Creature, came foorth, and / forbade them, from the part of the Omnipotent God, and under paine of Excommunication, that they should not put him to death that day, being Holy, and the Feast of Saint Mary Magdalen; whereupon the execution was put off till the morrow. That night meanes was wrought to the King, who commaunded a stay to bee made till other order were taken, being informed that for the enuy which Glanuile bare to this Plumton, hee was desirous to put him to death, in regard hee had married the daughter of Roger Gulwast an inheritrix, whom hee would have had Reiver his Shriefe of Yorke-shiere to have had; which act leaves a foule stayne of Iniustice, vppon the memory of this Chiefe Iustice Glanuile: In the time of whose Office, a tract of the Lawes. and Customes of the Kingdome of England was composed; which now passes vnder his name.

1177. Anno Reg. 13.—The charge given for businesses in these Assises, consisted but of very few poynts besides those fellonies, and was especially for taking Homage, and Ligeancy of all the Subiects of England: Demolishing of Castles, the Rights of the King, his Crowne and Exchequer. The multitude of actions which followed in succeeding times, grew out of new transgressions, and the increase of Law and Litigation, which was then but in the Cradle.

William king of Sicile matches with Ioan the kings daughter.—William King of Sicile sends and craues to haue Ioan the Kings Daughter in marriage. Whereupon the King calls a Parliament, and by the Vniuersal Councell of the Kingdome, granted his daughter to the King of Sicile; to whom she was shortly after sent, and there honourably indowed with many Cities, and castles, as may appeare by the Charter of that King. (Rog. Houed.)

But the great Match that was prouided for Earle Iohn became frustrate by the death of Alice, daughter to the Earle of Mauriana, and he is married to the daughter of William

Earle of *Glocester*, by whom he was to haue that Earledome. This *William* was sonne to *Robert*, brother to *Maude* the Empresse.

The same yeare also, hee marries *Elioner*, another of his Daughters to *Alphonso*, King of *Castile*, and takes vp the controuersie betweene him, and his Vncle *Sanctio* King of *Nauarre*, about the detention of certayne bordering peeces, of each others Kingdome, both the Kings having referred the businesse to his arbitration.

r178. Anno Reg. 24.—Likewise, the Marriage which should haue beene betweene his sonne Richard, and Alice Daughter to the French King, (committed heeretofore to his custody and gouernment) was agayne treated on, and vrged hard, by the Popes Legate to bee consummated vppon payne of interdiction. But yet it was put off for that time, and both Kings notwithstanding concluded a perpetual League and amity to ayde each other against all men, and to bee enemies to each others enemies. Besides, they both Vowed an expedition, to the Holy Land in person, which they liued not to performe.

The King of France vppon a dangerous sickenesse of his sonne Phillip, vowes a Visitation of the Sepulcher of Thomas the Martyre of Canterbury: And vppon Lycence and safe Conduct of the King of England, performes the same with great Deuotion, and rich Presents. First, Offering vppon his Tombe, a massie Cup of Gold, and after, gaue and confirmed by his Charter three thousand, sixe hundred Sextaries of Wine for the Monkes, annually to be received at Poissi, at the charge of the King of France; and beside, freed them from all Tolle and Custome, for whatsoever they should buy in his Kingdome.

1779. Anno Reg. 25.—After having stayed there three dayes, hee returnes towards France, Conducted by the King of England to Douer. The Sonne recouers health, but the Father lost his

¹ A Sextary is eight English quarts, and 36. Sextaries is a Modius of Wine.—Bud.

in this iourney; for comming to Saint *Denis*, hee was taken with a Palsie, and liued not long after. The weaknesse of his Age, and disease mooued him presently to haue his sonne *Phillip* (beeing but fifteene yeares of Age) to bee Crowned King in his life time, which was done at *Reimes*, *Anno* 1179.

1180. Anno Reg. 26.—Henry Duke of Saxony (who had married Maude daughter to King Henry) was expelled his Dutchy, and banished by the Emperour Frederick the third. for seauen yeares, for / detayning the reuenues, which the Archbishop of Cologne had out of Saxonie; and refusing to come vnto tryall at the Imperiall Chamber, according to his Faith. and promise made to the Emperour. So that hee was driven to come (for succour with his Wife and Children) to his Father in Law, into England. Where hee remayned three yeares, and vpon the comming of the Arch-bishop of Cologne to visit the Sepulcher of Thomas of Canterbury, meanes was wrought to restore him to his Dutchy: and a motion is made of marriage for Richard the King's sonne, with the daughter of the Emperour Fredericke (notwithstanding the contract made with Alice daughter to the King of France long before) but the last intention was made frustrate, by the death of the Emperours Daughter.

King Henry sends his sonne Iohn to reside in Ireland, to the end (that the Maiesty of a Court, and the number of the attendants which the same would draw thither) might both awe, and civilise that Countrey: But hee beeing accompanied with many Gallants, young as himselfe, who scorning, and deriding the Irish (in regard of their rude habits and fashions) wrought an ill effect. For it turned out three of their greatest Kings (Limmerick, Conact, and Corke) into open act of rebellion: Gens enim hac, sicut & natio quaeuis barbara, quanquam honorem nesciant, honorati tamen, supra modum affectant, sayth Giraldus Cambrensis.

The King sends after monies giuen to pious vses by Testators of the Clergy.—Now this fayre time of peace, which King

Henry enjoyed, gaue him leasure to seeke out all meanes to supply his Coffers, wherein hee was very Vigilant: And hearing of the great summes (which Roger Arch-bishop of Yorke, had giuen by his Testament to godly vses) sends Commissioners to finde out, and to seize the same to his owne vses, alledging, That the Arch-bishop had given Iudgement in his life time, that it was against Law, any Ecclesiasticall person should dispose any thing by will (vnlesse before hee were sicke,) and that himselfe had done contrary to his owne Decree. The Commissioners having found out, that Hugh Bishop of Durham had received of the Arch-bishop three hundred Markes of siluer to bee bestowed in those vses, demaund the same for the King. The Bishop replyes, That having received it from the hands of the Archbishop, hee had according to his will, distributed the same amongst the Leprous, Blinde, and Lame; in repayring Churchs, Bridges, and Hospitalls: So that who would have it, must gather it vo againe of them. Which answere so displeased the King, as (besides the seizing vpon the Castle of Duresme) he wrought this Bishop much vexation.

The Vacancy of Lincolne held 18. yeares to the Kings vse.-His meanes certayne (besides the Reuenue of his Demesne, and the benefit of the Forrests) were not then great in England: which caused him oftentimes in his necessities to bee bold with the Church, and to hold their Benefices Vacant; as hee did the Bishopricke of Lincolne eighteene yeares. made a new Coyne in England, which was round, decryed the Olde, and put all the Coyners to great ransome for corrupting the Olde money. And besides to saue his purse (in regard euery continuall charge of Horse, and Armour was heavy vnto him.) hee caused euery mans Lands and substance to bee rated for the Furnishing thereof. And first beganne the same, in his Dominions beyond the Seas: Ordayning, That whosoeuer had a hundred pounds Aniouin money in goods, and chattle, should finde a Horse, and all Millitary furniture thereunto; and whosoeuer had in chattle forty, thirty, or twenty pounds Aniouin money, should finde a Corslet, Head-peece, Launce and Sword: or Bow and Arrowes, with a strict prohibition, That no man should sell or pawne his Armour, but bee bound to leave it when he dyed, to his next heire. And this Order afterward, hee established in England, by consent of the State. The King of France, and the Earle of Flanders by his example did the like in their Countries. (1181. Anno Reg. 27.)

Great and manifold were the expences of this mighty King, in respect of his entertaynments, pensions, and rewards, having so wide an Estate, and so many ever in his worke, both of his owne, and others who must alwayes be fed. And besides, oftentimes he is faine to bribe the Popes Legates, in his businesse with the King of *France*, to have them favourable for his ends: to send many supplies, by their perswasions, and for his owne reputation, to the Holy Warre.

1182. Anno Reg. 28. Henry 2. relieued Pope Lucius and the Ierosolomitans with great summes of gold and siluer.— Anno 1182. (sayth Walsingham) he relieued the necessity of the Ierosolomitans, with two and forty thousand Markes of siluer, and fiue hundred Markes of gold, which was in money, seauen and forty thousand, three hundred, thirty three pounds, sixe shilling eight pence. And when Pope Lucius distressed by the Romans, desired an ayde out of England, the King sent him a mighty summe of Gold and Siluer; in leauving whereof, the Clergie heere delt very circumspectly; for when the Popes Nuncij came to desire the same, they aduised the King, that according to his will, and honour, hee himselfe should supply the Popes occasion, as well for himselfe, as them: for that it was more tollerable, that their Lord and King, should receive from them, the returne of that ayde, then that the Popes Nuncij should; which might bee taken for a custome to the detriment of the Kingdome.

Now (about eight yeares) had the peace continued betweene the two Kings, Father and the Sonne, when againe new flames of vnnaturall discord began to breake out; the occasion whereof as farre as can be discouered (in the vncertaine passages of that time) wee finde to bee this.

1183. Anno Reg. 29. Great festivals often-times break vp with great discontentments.—After a great Christmas kept at Cane in Normandy, with his Sonnes Henry, Richard and Geffery, the Duke of Saxony with his Wife and Children, besides a great Nobility of all parts: The King willed King Henry his sonne, to take the Homages of his brother Richard Earle of Poictou, and Geffery Earle of Brittaine. Richard refuses to doe it (but vppon perswasion) beeing afterwards content; his brother refuses to take the same. Whereuppon with great indignation Richard departs from his Fathers Court in Poictou; Mans and furnishes his Castles there. The King his brother followes by instigation of the Barons of Poictou and Aquitaine, who were falne from Richard, and adhered to the young King (as men that vnderstood what would become of younger brothers estates in such Dominions, where the elder brothers birthright, and power, would carry all) and Geffery Earle of Brittaine takes the King his brothers part, comes with forces to avde him.

Henry and his sonnes accorded.—Richard sends for succour to his Father, who with a powerfull Army (rather to constrayne them to a peace, then to make Warre) came downe into Poictou, where againe his three Sonnes after the debatement of their grieuances swore to obey, and serue their Father, and to hold perpetuall peace among themselues. And for the farther ratification of this Concord, they meete at Mirabel, where Henry the Sonne, desires, that the Barons of Poictou and Aquitaine (whom hee had sworne to defend against his brother Richard) might bee there at the concluding this peace, and to bee pardoned for any former act committed. Which request is granted, and Geffery Earle of Brittaine sent to bring the Barons thither. But the Barons (holding this peace, either not safe, or not profitable) so worke, as they win the messenger to take their part against the Father, and keepe him with them.

Henry the sonne notwithstanding, continues to mediate still for the Barons, and to get his Father, and brother Richard to receive them into grace. And vndertaking to bring in both them, and his brother Geffery, is permitted by the Father to goe treate with them at Limoges; whether also, by another way. and with small Company, it was agreed the Father should come, which he did; but his approach was met with arrowes, so dangerously shot at his person, as the next man to him was slayne, and himselfe with his sonne Richard forced to retire from the place. And yet afterwards, desirous out of a Fatherly affection to have conference with his sonnes for the quiet ending of this businesse, (vpon their assurance of his safety) hee enters into the City: When againe from the Castle is shot a barbed arrow, which had tooke him directly on the breast. had not his Horse by the suddaine lifting vp his head, received it in the fore-head. Which act his sonnes neuer sought to finde out and punish, but still vnder-hand held amity with the Barons. At length, notwithstanding King Henry the sonne comes to the Father, and protests, that valesse the Barons would come and yeelde themselues at the Kings feete, hee would vtterly renounce them: And after, having againe (vppon his Fathers promise of pardon and peace) dealt with them: and finding as hee anowed their obstinacy, made shew to forsake their party, and returnes to his Father with great submission, deliuering / vp vnto him his Horse and Armour in assurance thereof.

The inconstancy of king *Henry* the sonne. His vowe.—But many dayes hee spent not with him, when againe (eyther for the intended reuenge hee found his Father meant to prosecute against the Barons) whose protection hauing vndertaken, hee held himselfe in this honour, engaged to preserue: or by the working of some mutinous Ministers about him, whose element was not peace: he againe enters Oath and League with them. But therein finding his power short of his will, and desperate of all successe in his courses; hee

suddainly breakes out into an extreame passion before his Father, falls prostrate at the Shrine of Saint Martial, and vowes presently to take vpon him the Crosse, and to give ouer all worldly businesse beside.

His resolution.—With which strange and suddaine passion, the Father much mooued, besought his son with teares to alter that rash resolution, and to tell him truly, whether indignation or religion induced him thereunto. The sonne protests, that it was meerely for the remission of his sinnes, committed against his person. And vnlesse his Father would now give him leave (without which hee could not goe) he would there instantly kill himselfe in his presence. The Father (after having vsed all meanes to disswade him, and finding him still obstinate) sayd vnto him, Sonne, Gods will be done, and yours, for your furnishing, I will take such order as shall befit your Estate.

His request for the Barons of Aquitaine. His Death.-The sonne (whilst the Fathers passion had made him tender) wrought thereuppon, and besought him, that he would deale mercifully with those of the Castles of Limoges, the Barons of Aquitaine, and pardon them. To which, the Father in the end (though vnwillingly) yeelds, so that they would put in their pledges for securing their fidelity, and the peace; which they seemed content to doe. But vpon the delivery, and receiuing of these pledges, new ryots were committed, by such as could not endure the peace (which is neuer faithfull, but where men are voluntary pacified): and these young Princes againe take part with their Confederates, and are made the heads of rebellion, committing rapine, and sacriledge to supply their necessities, and feede their followers. And in the end. the young King having much strugled in vaine, through griefe and vexation of spirit (which caused the distemperature of body) fell into a burning feuer with the fluxe, whereof, within few dayes hee dyed. A Prince of excellent parts, who was first cast away by his Fathers indulgence, and after by his

rigor; not suffering him to be what himselfe had made him, neither got hee so much by his Coronation, as to have a name in the Catalogue of the Kings of England.

The sorrow of the Father (although it be sayd to bee great) hindred not his reuenge vpon the Barons of Aquitaine; whom he now most eagerly persecuted, seazed on their Castles, and raced to the ground that of Lymoges.

Earle Gefferies submission and death.—Geffery vpon his submission, is received into grace, and the yeare after dyed at Paris: having (in a conflict) beene troden vnder horses feete, and miserably crushed: so that halfe the male issue wherein this King was vnfortunate, hee saw extinct before him, and that by deaths as violent, as were their dispositions. The other two, who survived him, were no lesse miserable in their ends.

1184. Anno Reg. 30. Henry the second doth homage to Philip king of France. The Earle of Flanders compels the King of France to compound.—Now the young King of France, Phillip the second (in whose fate it was, to do more then euer his Father could effect, vpon the death of Henry the sonne) requires the delivery of the Country of Vexlin, which was given in dowre with his Sister Margaret; but the King of England, (not apt to let goe any thing of what hee had in possession) was content to pay yearely to the Queene Dowager, 17050. pounds Aniouin. And the more to hold faire with this young King, whose spirit, hee saw, grew great, and active, and with whom hee was like to have much to doe, did homage vnto him, for all hee held in France, which hee neuer did to the Father, beeing the first descent of Maiesty, he euer made to any secular power. And beside, tooke his part against Phillip Earle of Flanders, who opposed against him, and was in those dayes a Prince of mighty power, and had euer stood fast vnto King Lewis the Father. But now Phillip the sonne otherwise led, or affectioned, quarrels with him, and demaunds the Country of Vermendois, as appertayning to the Crowne of France: and withall, vppon allegation of consanguinity, repudiates his wife, Neece to this Earle of Flanders, giuen vnto him by his Fathers choyce / a little before his death. The Earle followed by Odo Earle of Burgogne, the Earles of Champaigne, Hainalt, Namur, Saint Pol, and others, warres vpon the King of France, and commits great spoyles within his territories, so that hee was faine in the ende to compound with him to his disaduantage. After this, the Kings of England, and France, meete betweene Gisors and Try; where the King of England sweares to deliuer Alice, vnto Richard his sonne. And the King of France her brother grants her in Dowery, the Countrey of Vexlin, which Margaret his other Sister had before.

1185, Anno Reg. 31. The Kings of England and France

accorded, and prepare for the Holy VVarre.—But these tyes held them not long together, for the young King of France so wrought with Richard, as hee drew him from his Fathers obedience, and they lived together in that amity, as one bed and boord is sayd to have served them, both which so eniealoused the old King, as hee called home his sonne, and before his Bishops and Nobility, caused him to sweare vppon the Euangelists, to obserue fealty vnto him, against all persons whatsoeuer; which having done, and ready to passe ouer into England, he is informed of the great preparation made by the King of France, who gaue out, that hee would spoyle and ransacke both Normandy, and the rest of the King of Englands territories in France; vnlesse hee would presently deliuer vp his sister Alice vnto Richard, or render Gisors, and the Countrey of Vexlin into his hands. VVhereuppon the King returnes backe, and comes againe to a parle betweene Gisors and Try. Where, the Arch-bishop of Try (sent from the East to call vp ayde for the Holy VVarre) did with that power of perswasion so vrge his message, as it let out all the humour of private rancor and contention, betweene these two great Kings, altered their whole Counsells, their pretensions, their designes: turned them wholly to yndertake in person this labourious action, and

resolue to leaue their Kingdomes, their pleasures, and all the things of glory they had at home, to prosecute the same, through all the distemperatures of climes, and difficulties of passages, whereunto that voyage was obnoxious: so that now, no other thing was thought or talked on, but onely preparations, and furnishments for this businesse.

And to distinguish their people, and followers (who all stroue which should bee most forward) it was ordered that they who followed the King of England, should weare a white Crosse; France a red; and Flaunders a greene. And for a further ingagement in the businesse, the King of England writes to the Patriarch of Antioch, a most comfortable and pious Letter: in the end whereof he hath these words, Amongst other Printes, I and my Sonne, rejecting the glory of this World, and despising all the pleasures thereof, in proper person, will, God willing visite you shortly.

Then to rayse money to defray this great enterprize, it was ordayned by the two Kings their Arch-bishops, Bishops, Earles, and other in *France*, that all whosoeuer, as well Clerke as Lay (sauing such as went the Voyage) should pay the tenth of all their reuenues of that yeare, and the tenth of all their Mooueables and Chattels; as well in gold as siluer. And many excellent orders were made for restraynt of licentiousnesse both in apparrell, and manners, as was fitting for the vndertakers of so ciuill and deuout an action.

The King of England hauing layde this imposition vppon all his Dominions in France, comes ouer, calls a Councell of his Bishops, Abbots, Earles, Barrons, both of the Clergy, and Laiety at Gaynington, and by their consents imposes the same taxation vppon his Subiects of England. Sub Eleemosina titulo vitium rapacitatis includens, sayth Walsingham, and presently sends forth his Officers into euery Shiere, to Collect the same according as it was done in France. But of euery City in England, he caused a choyce to be made of the richest men:

as in London of two hundred, in Yorke a hundred, and so according to the proportion of the rest; and caused all these, at a certayne time and place to appeare before him; of whom hee tooke the tenth of all their Mooueables, by the estimation of credible men which knew their estates: such as refused hee imprisoned till they had payde it, of which example and exaction, wee must onely hold Piety guilty: otherwise those times had not yeelded it.

The King sends likewise Hugh Bishop of Duresme, with other Commissioners, to William / King of Scats to collect the tenthes in his Countrey, which hee would not permit, but offered to give the King of England five thousand Markes of silver for those tenthes, and the Castle which hee claymed but the King of England refused the same.

1187. Anno Reg. 33. A meane quarrell dashes and diverts the great preparation for the Holy War, and layes it vppon the selfe kingdomes.—Whilst these preparations were in hand, and the money collecting, a quarrell arises betweene Richard Earle of Poictou, and Raymond Earle of Tholouse, vpon this occasion. The Earle of Tholouse by the perswasion of one Peter Suillar, had taken certaine Merchants of Aquitaine, and vsed them hardly. The Earle of Poictou surprizes this Peter, imprisons him, and would not suffer the Earle of Tholouse to redeeme him, vpon any condition. Whereupon the Earle imprisons two Gentlemen servants of the King of England, Robert and Ralph Poer, travelling through his Country (as Pilgrimes) from Saint Iames de Compostella; which Earle Richard tooke so ill, as he enters into the Earles Countrey with an Army (prepared for a better act), wastes it with fire and sword, besieges and takes his Castles about Tholouse, The King of France (vpon the lamentable complaynt of the Tholousans) sends to the King of England to vnderstand, whether his sonne Richard did these things by his will and Counsell. The King of England answeres, That he neither willed nor Counselled him thereunto, and that his son sent him word, (by the Archbishop of Dublin) that he did nothing, but by the consent of the King of France. Who (not satisfied with this answere) enters presently into Bery with his Army, seazes vppon the Countrey; takes in divers Castles of the King of Englands, who makes himselfe ready to recover the same. And thus that great intended enterprise, vndertaken with such feruor, became dasht and overthrowne, at the very time, they appoynted to have set forward.

1188. Anno Reg. 34. The King of France cuts downe the most eminent elme of Princely parley.—All the meanes the Pope could vse by his Legates, nor all the perswasions of other Princes might preuaile, to reconcile these two ingaged Kings: though diverse interviewes were procured, diverse overtures propounded, yet none tooke effect; they euer depart more incensed then they met: in so much as at length, the King of France, in a rage, cut downe the great Elme (betweene Gisors and Try) vnder which, the Kings of France, and Dukes of Normandy were euer vsed to parle, and swore, There should be no more meetings in that place. But yet after this, they were brought to another parle elsewhere, and therein the Popes Legat threatned to interdict the King of France, vnlesse hee made peace with the King of England. The King of France told him, that he feared not his sentence, beeing grounded vpon no equity, and that it appertained not to the Church of Rome, by sentence, or otherwise, to chastise the Kingdome, or King of France, vndertaking to reuenge the demerrits of the rebellious, that dishonoured his Crowne; and flatly told the Cardinall, That he smelled of the Sterlings of England.

Earle Richard (with the King of France) combine against his father King Henry 2.—This interview, wrought a worse effect then all the rest: for heere the King of England (absolutely) refuses to render Alice to his sonne Richard, but offered to the King of France, to give her to his sonne Iohn, with larger conditions, then should be granted with the other: which so much alienated the heart of his sonne Richard, as he becomes

wholly Liege-man to the King of France, did homage vnto him for Aquitaine, and they both ioyne their forces against the Father.

And here now comes this mightie King of England (the greatest of all the Christian World in his time, or that the kingdome euer saw, to fall quite a sunder; forsaken both of his subjects, and himselfe letting downe his heart, to yeeld to any conditions whatsoeuer: he who neuer saw feare (but in the backe of his enemies) leaues now the defence of Mans, and flyes away with seauen hundred men (hauing promised the City, neuer to giue it ouer, in regard his Father was there buried, and himselfe borne:) and afterward comes to this last parle, with the King of France, betweene Turwin and Arras: where at their first meeting (no man suspecting the wrath) a thunder-bolt, with so terrible a cracke lighted just betweene them, as it parted their conference in a confused manner for that time.

1189. Anno Reg. 35.-Within a while after, they came together againe, when suddainly began as fearefull a thunder as the former, which so amazed the King of England (as he had falne off from his Horse) had he not beene supported by those about him. And in this sort, beganne the Proem of that Treaty, wherein, the King of England yeelds to whatsoeuer con / ditions, the King of France required, did him homage againe for all his dominions on that side (both Kings hauing at the beginning of this Warre, renounced their mutuall obligation in that kinde,) renders vp Alice for whom hee had beene so much loden with scandall and turmovle, vpon condition, she should be given in marriage to his sonne Richard at his returne from the Holy Warre; and in the meane time to remayne in the custody of any one of fiue whom Richard should nominate: grants that fealty bee given vnto him of all his Dominions, and pardons all his partakers. Besides, couenants to pay the King of France 20000. markes of silver for dammage done during these last Wars. And that if he should not performe these Articles, his Barons should sweare to

renounce him, and betake them to the part of the King of France, and Earle Richard. And for more caution, he yeeldes to deliver up the Cities of Mans and Tureyn, with divers Castles into their hands, &c.

His Death.—And here was an end of this businesse; and within three dayes after, of this Kings life: whose heart, not made of that temper to bow, burst with the weight of a declining fortune. Some few houres before he dyed, hee saw a list of their names who conspired with the King of France, and Earle Richard against him; and finding therein his Sonne Iohn to be the first, fals into a grieuous passion, both cursing his sonnes, and the day wherein himselfe was borne; and in that distemperature departs the World, which so often himselfe had distempered; hauing reigned thirty foure yeares, seauen moneths, and fiue dayes.

1189. Anno Reg. 35.—His Sonne Richard approaching the Corpes, as it was carrying to bee interred (adorned according to the vsuall manner of Kings, with all royall Ornaments open faced,) the blood gushed out of the nostrills of the Dead (a signe, vsually noted, of guiltinesse) as if Nature yet after Death, retayned some intelligence in the veines, to giue notice of wrong, and checke the malice of an vnnaturall Offender: at which sight, Richard surprized with horror, is sayd to have burst out into extreame lamentations.

His Issue.—He had issue by his Wife Elioner, foure sonnes, Henry, Richard, Geffery, and Iohn: besides two other, William the eldest, and Phillip the youngest but one, dyed young. Also three Daughters; Maude married to Henry Duke of Saxony: Elioner the Wife of Alfonso the eighth of that name, King of Castile: Ioan given in marriage vnto William King of Sicile. Hee had also two naturall sonnes, by Rosamond daughter of Walter Lord Clifford, William, surnamed Longespee, in English Long-sword, and Geffery Arch-bishop of Yorke, who after flue yeares banishment in his brother King Iohns time dyed, Anno 1213.—Vide Io. Speed.

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The first sonne William surnamed Longespee, Earle of Salisbury (in right of Ela his Wife: daughter and heire of William Earle of that County, sonne of Earle Patricke) had issue William Earle of Salisbury, and Stephen Earle of Vister: Ela Countesse of Warwicke: Ida Lady Beauchampe of Bedford, and Isabell Lady Vescy. His Sonne, Earle William the second, had Earle William the third, Father of Margaret, Wife of Henry Lacy Earle of Lincolne.

It is sayd, King Henry had also a third natural sonne called Morgan (by the Wife of one Rodulph Bloeth or Blewet a Knight; he liued to be Prouost of Beuerley, and to be elected to the Bishopricke of Duresme; and comming to Rome for a dispensation (because his Bastardy made him otherwise vncapeable) the Pope willed him to professe him selfe Blewets lawfull sonne, and not the Kings Naturall, promising to Consecrate him on that condition; but he (vsing the aduice of one William Lane his Clerke) told the Pope that for no worldly promotion he would renounce his Father, or deny himselfe to be of Blood Royall.

The end of the Life, and Reigne, of Henry the second. /

END OF VOL. IV.

